THE

HISTORY OF THE REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

WITH A VIEW OF THE

Progress of Society in Europe,

FROM THE

SUBVERSION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE,

TO THE

BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

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BOOK X.

WHILE Charles laboured, with ſuch unwearied induſtry, to perſuade or to force the proteſtants to adopt his regulations with reſpect to religion, the effects of his ſteadineſs in the execution of his plan were rendered leſs conſiderable by his rupture with the pope, which daily increaſed. The firm reſolution which the emperor ſeemed to have taken againſt reſtoring Placentia, together with his repeated encroachments on the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, not only by the regulations contained in the Interim, but by his attempt to re-aſſemble the council at Trent, exaſperated Paul to the utmoſt, who, with the weakneſs incident to old age, grew more attached to his family, and more jealous of his authority, as he advanced in years. Puſhed on by theſe paſſions, he made new efforts to draw the French king into an alliance againſt the emperor*: but finding that monarch, notwithſtanding the hereditary enmity between him and Charles, and the jealouſy with which he viewed the ſucceſsful progreſs of the Imperial arms, as unwilling as formerly to involve himſelf in immediate hoſtilities, he was obliged to contract his views, and to hink of preventing future encroachments, ſince it was not in his power to inflict vengeance on account of thoſe which were paſt. For this pur-

* Mem. de Ribier, ii. 230.

pose, he determined to recal his grant of Parma and Placentia, and after declaring them to be re-annexed to the holy see, to indemnify his grandson Octavio by a new establishment in the ecclesiastical state. By this expedient he hoped to gain two points of no small consequence. He, first of all, rendered his possession of Parma more secure, as the emperor would be more cautious of invading the patrimony of the church, though he might seize without scruple a town belonging to the house of Farnese. In the next place, he would acquire a better chance of recovering Placentia, as his solicitations to that effect might decently be urged with greater importunity, and would infallibly be attended with greater effect, when he was considered not as pleading the cause of his own family, but as an advocate for the interest of the holy see. But while Paul was priding himself on this device, as a happy refinement in policy, Octavio, an ambitious and high-spirited young man, who could not bear with patience to be spoiled of one half of his territories by the rapaciousness of his father-in-law, and to be deprived of the other by the artifices of his grandfather, took measures in order to prevent the execution of a plan fatal to his interest. He set out secretly from Rome, and having first endeavoured to surprise Parma, which attempt was frustrated by the fidelity of the governor to whom the pope had entrusted the defence of the town, he made overtures to the emperor, of renouncing all connexion with the pope, and of depending entirely on him for his future fortune. This unexpected defection of one of the pope's own family to an enemy whom he hated, irritated, almost to madness, a mind peevish with old age; and there was no degree of severity to which Paul might not have proceeded against a grandson whom he reproached as an unnatural apostate. But, happily for Octavio, death prevented his carrying into execution the harsh resolutions which he had taken with respect to him, and put an end to his pontificate in the

ſixteenth year of his adminiſtration, and the eighty-ſecond year of his age *.

* Among many inſtances of the credulity or weakneſs of hiſtorians in attributing the death of illuſtrious perſonages to extraordinary cauſes, this is one. Almoſt all the hiſtorians of the ſixteenth century affirm, that the death of Paul III. was occaſioned by the violent paſſions which the behaviour of his grandſon excited; that being informed, while he was refreſhing himſelf in one of his gardens near Rome, of Octavio's attempt on Parma, as well as of his negotiations with the emperor by means of Gonzaga, he fainted away, continued ſome hours in a ſwoon, then became feveriſh, and died within three days. This is the account given of it by Thuanus, lib. vi. 211. Adriani Iſtor. di ſuoi Tempi, lib. vii. 480, and by Father Paul, 280. Even cardinal Pallavicini, better informed than any writer with regard to the events which happened in the papal court, and when not warped by prejudice or ſyſtem, more accurate in relating them, agrees with their narrative in its chief circumſtances. Pallav. b. ii. 74. Paruta, who wrote his hiſtory by command of the ſenate of Venice, relates it in the ſame manner. Hiſtorici Venez. vol. iv. 212. But there was no occaſion to ſearch for any extraordinary cauſe to account for the death of an old man of eighty two. There remains an authentic account of this event, in which we find none of thoſe marvellous circumſtances of which the hiſtorians are ſo fond. The cardinal of Ferrara, who was entruſted with the affairs of France at the court of Rome, and M. D'Urfé, Henry's ambaſſador in ordinary there, wrote an account to that monarch of the affair of Parma, and of the pope's death. By theſe it appears, that Octavio's attempt to ſurpriſe Parma, was made on the twentieth of October; that next day in the evening, and not while he was airing himſelf in the gardens of Monte Cavallo, the pope received intelligence of what he had done; that he was ſeized with ſuch a tranſport of paſſion, and cried ſo bitterly, that his voice was heard in ſeveral apartments of the palace; that next day, however, he was ſo well as to give an audience to the cardinal of Ferrara, and to go through buſineſs of different kinds; that Octavio wrote a letter to the pope, not to cardinal Farneſe his brother, intimating his reſolution of throwing himſelf into the arms of the emperor; that the pope received this on the twenty-firſt without any new ſymptoms of emotion, and returned an anſwer to it; that on the twenty-ſecond of October, the day on which the cardinal of Ferrara's letter is dated, the pope was in his uſual ſtate of health. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 247. By a letter of M. D'Urfé, Nov. 5. it appears that the pope was in ſuch good health, that on the third of that month he had celebrated the anniverſary of his coronation with the uſual ſolemnities. Ibidem, 251. By another letter from the ſame perſon, we learn, that on the ſixth of November a catarrh or defluxion fell down on the pope's lungs, with ſuch dangerous ſymptoms, that his life was

1550.] As this event had been long expected, there was an extraordinary concourse of cardinals at Rome; and the various competitors having had time to form their parties, and to concert their measures, their ambition and intrigues protracted the conclave to a great length. The Imperial and French faction strove, with emulation, to promote one of their own number, and had, by turns, the prospect of success. But as Paul, during a long pontificate had raised many to the purple, and those chiefly persons of eminent abilities, as well as zealously devoted to his family, cardinal Farnese had the command of a powerful and united squadron, by whose address and firmness he exalted to the papal throne the cardinal di Monte [Feb. 7], whom Paul had employed as his principal legate in the council of Trent, and trusted with his most secret intentions. He assumed the name of Julius III. and in order to express his gratitude towards his benefactor, the first act of his administration was to put Octavio Farnese in possession of Parma. When the injury which he did to the holy see, by alienating a territory of such value, was mentioned by some of the cardinals, he briskly replied, "That he would rather be a poor pope, with the reputation of a gentleman, than a rich one, with the infamy of having forgotten the obligations conferred upon him, and the promises which he had made†." But all the lustre of this candour or generosity he quickly effaced by an action most shockingly indecent. According to an ancient and established practice, every pope upon his election considers it as his privilege to bestow, on whom he pleases, the cardinal's hat, which falls to be disposed of by his being invested with the triple crown. Julius, to the astonishment

immediately despaired of. Ibid. 252. And by a third letter we are informed, that he died November the tenth. In none of these letters is his death imputed to any extraordinary cause. It appears, that more than twenty days elapsed between Octavio's attempt on Parma and the death of his grandfather, and that the disease was the natural effect of old age, and not one of those occasioned by violence of passion.

† Mem de Ribier.

of the ſacred college, conferred this mark of diſtinction, together with ample eccleſiaſtical revenues, and the right of bearing his name and arms, upon one Innocent, a youth of ſixteen, born of obſcure parents, and known by the name of the Ape, from his having been truſted with the care of an animal of that ſpecies, in the cardinal di Monte's family. Such a proſtitution of the higheſt dignity in the church would have given offence, even in thoſe dark periods, when the credulous ſuperſtition of the people emboldened eccleſiaſtics to venture on the moſt flagrant violations of decorum. But in an enlightened age, when, by the progreſs of knowledge and philoſophy, the obligations of duty and decency were better underſtood, when a blind veneration for the pontifical character was every where abated, and one half of Chriſtendom in open rebellion againſt the papal ſee, this action was viewed with horror. Rome was immediately filled with libels and paſquinades, which imputed the pope's extravagant regard for ſuch an unworthy object to the moſt criminal paſſions. The proteſtants exclaimed againſt the abſurdity of ſuppoſing that the infallible ſpirit of divine truth could dwell in a breaſt ſo impure, and called more loudly than ever, and with greater appearance of juſtice, for the immediate and thorough reformation of a church, the head of which was a diſgrace to the Chriſtian name†. The reſt of the pope's conduct was of a piece with this firſt ſpecimen of his diſpoſitions. Having now reached the ſummit of eccleſiaſtical ambition, he ſeemed eager to indemnify himſelf, by an unreſtrained indulgence of his deſires, for the ſelf-denial or diſſimulation which he had thought it prudent to practiſe while in a ſubordinate ſtation. He became careleſs, to ſo great a degree, of all ſerious buſineſs, that he could ſeldom be brought to attend to it, but in caſes of extreme neceſſity; and giving up himſelf to amuſements and diſſipation of every kind, he imitated the luxurious elegance of

† Sleid. 492. F. Paul, 281. Pallav. ii. 76. Thuan. lib. vi. 215.

Leo rather than the ſevere virtue of Adrian, the latter of which it was neceſſary to diſplay, in contending with a ſect which derived great credit from the rigid and auſtere manners of its teachers*.

The pope, however ready to fulfil his engagements to the family of Farneſe, diſcovered no inclination to obſerve the oath, which each cardinal had taken when he entered the conclave, that if the choice ſhould fall on him, he would immediately call the council to re-aſſume its deliberations. Julius knew, by experience, how difficult it was to confine ſuch a body of men within the narrow limits which it was the intereſt of the ſee of Rome to preſcribe; and how eaſily the zeal of ſome members, the raſhneſs of others, or the ſuggeſtions of the princes on whom they depended, might precipitate a popular and ungovernable aſſembly into forbidden inquiries, as well as dangerous deciſions. He wiſhed, for theſe reaſons, to have eluded the obligation of his oath, and gave an ambiguous anſwer to the firſt propoſals which were made to him by the emperor, with regard to that matter. But Charles, either from his natural obſtinacy in adhering to the meaſures which he had once adopted, or from the mere pride of accompliſhing what was held to be almoſt impoſſible, perſiſted in his reſolution of forcing the proteſtants to return into the boſom of the church. Having perſuaded himſelf, that the authoritative deciſions of the council might be employed with efficacy in combating their prejudices, he, in conſequence of that perſuaſion, continued to ſolicit earneſtly that a new bull of convocation might be iſſued; and the pope could not, with decency, reject that requeſt. When Julius found that he could not prevent the calling of a council, he endeavoured to take to himſelf all the merit of having procured the meeting of an aſſembly, which was the object of ſuch general deſire and expectation. A congregation of cardinals, to whom he referred the conſideration of what was neceſſary for reſtoring peace to the church, recom-

* F. Paul, 281.

mended, by his direction, the speedy convocation of a council, as the most effectual expedient for that purpose; and as the new heresies raged with the greatest violence in Germany, they proposed Trent as the place of its meeting, that, by a near inspection of the evil, the remedy might be applied with greater discernment and certainty of success. The pope warmly approved of this advice, which he himself had dictated, and sent nuncios to the Imperial and French courts, in order to make known his intentions†.

About this time, the emperor had summoned a new diet to meet at Augsburg, in order to enforce the observation of the Interim, and to procure a more authentic act of the supreme court in the empire, acknowledging the jurisdiction of the council, as well as an explicit promise of conforming to its decrees. He appeared there in person, together with his son the prince of Spain [June 25]. Few electors were present, but all sent deputies in their name. Charles, notwithstanding the despotic authority with which he had given law in the empire during two years, knew that the spirit of independence among the Germans was not entirely subdued, and for that reason took care to over-awe the diet by a considerable body of Spanish troops which escorted him thither. The first point submitted to the consideration of the diet, was the necessity of holding a council. All the popish members agreed, without difficulty, that the meeting of that assembly should be renewed at Trent, and promised an implicit acquiescence in its decrees. The protestants, intimidated and disunited, must have followed their example, and the resolution of the diet would have proved unanimous, if Maurice of Saxony had not begun at this time to disclose new intentions, and to act a part very different from that which he had so long assumed.

By an artful dissimulation of his own sentiments; by address in paying court to the emperor; and by the seeming zeal with which he forwarded all his ambitious schemes,

† F. Paul, 281. Pallav. ii. 77.

Maurice had raiſed himſelf to the electoral dignity; and having added the dominions of the elder branch of the Saxon family to his own, he was become the moſt powerful prince in Germany. But his long and intimate union with the emperor had afforded him many opportunities of obſerving narrowly the dangerous tendency of that monarch's ſchemes. He ſaw the yoke that was preparing for his country; and from the rapid as well as formidable progreſs of the Imperial power, was convinced that but a few ſteps more remained to be taken, in order to render Charles as abſolute a monarch in Germany as he had become in Spain. The more eminent the condition was to which he himſelf had been exalted, the more ſolicitous did Maurice naturally become to maintain all its rights and privileges, and the more did he dread the thoughts of deſcending from the rank of a prince almoſt independent, to that of a vaſſal ſubject to the commands of a maſter. At the ſame time he perceived that Charles was bent on exacting a rigid conformity to the doctrines and rites of the Romiſh church, inſtead of allowing liberty of conſcience, the promiſe of which had allured ſeveral proteſtant princes to aſſiſt him in the war againſt the confederates of Smalkalde. As he himſelf, notwithſtanding all the compliances which he had made from motives of intereſt, or an exceſs of confidence in the emperor, was ſincerely attached to the Lutheran tenets, he determined not to be a tame ſpectator of the overthrow of a ſyſtem which he believed to be founded in truth.

This reſolution, flowing from the love of liberty, or zeal for religion, was ſtrengthened by political and intereſted conſiderations. In that elevated ſtation in which Maurice was now placed, new and more extenſive proſpects opened to his view. His rank and power entitled him to be the head of the proteſtants in the empire. His predeceſſor, the degraded elector, with inferior abilities, and territories leſs conſiderable, had acquired ſuch an aſcendant over the councils of the party; and Maurice neither wanted diſcernment to

fee the advantage of this pre-eminence, nor ambition to aim at attaining it. But he found himfelf in a fituation which rendered the attempt no lefs difficult, than the object of it was important. On the one hand, the connection which he had formed with the emperor was fo intimate, that he could fcarcely hope to take any ftep which tended to diffolve it, without alarming his jealoufy, and drawing on himfelf the whole weight of that power, which had crufhed the greateft confederacy ever formed in Germany. On the other hand the calamities which he had brought on the proteftant party were fo recent, as well as great, that it feemed almoft impoffible to regain their confidence, or to rally and re-animate a body, after he himfelf had been the chief inftrument in breaking its union and vigour. Thefe confiderations were fufficient to have difcouraged any perfon of a fpirit lefs adventurous than Maurice's. But to him the grandeur and difficulty of the enterprife were allurements; and he boldly refolved on meafures, the idea of which a genius of an inferior order could not have conceived, or would have trembled at the thoughts of the danger that attended the execution of them.

His paffions concurred with his intereft in confirming this refolution; and the refentment excited by an injury, which he fenfibly felt, added new force to the motives for oppofing the emperor, which found policy fuggefted. Maurice, by his authority, had prevailed on the landgrave of Heffe to put his perfon in the emperor's power, and had obtained a promife from the Imperial minifters that he fhould not be detained a prifoner. This had been violated in the manner already related. The unhappy landgrave exclaimed as loudly againft his fon-in-law as againft Charles. The princes of Heffe required Maurice inceffantly to fulfil his engagements to their father, who had loft his liberty by trufting to him; and all Germany fufpected him of having betrayed, to an implacable enemy, the friend whom he was moft bound to protect. Roufed by thefe folicitations or reproaches, as

well as prompted by duty and affection to his father-in-law, Maurice had employed not only entreaties but remonſtrances in order to procure his releaſe. All theſe Charles had diſregarded; and the ſhame of having been firſt deceived, and then ſlighted, by a prince whom he had ſerved with zeal as well as ſucceſs, which merited a very different return, made ſuch a deep impreſſion on Maurice, that he waited with impatience for an opportunity of being revenged.

The utmoſt caution as well as the moſt delicate addreſs were requiſite in taking every ſtep towards this end; as he had to guard, on the one hand, againſt giving a premature alarm to the emperor; while, on the other, ſomething conſiderable and explicit was neceſſary to be done, in order to regain the confidence of the proteſtant party. Maurice had accordingly applied all his powers of art and diſſimulation to attain both theſe points. As he knew Charles to be inflexible with regard to the ſubmiſſion which he required to the Interim, he did not heſitate one moment whether he ſhould eſtabliſh that form of doctrine and worſhip in his dominions: but being ſenſible how odious it was to his ſubjects, inſtead of violently impoſing it on them by the mere terror of authority, as had been done in other parts of Germany, he endeavoured to render their obedience a voluntary deed of their own. For this purpoſe, he had aſſembled the clergy of his country at Leipſick, and had laid the Interim before them, together with the reaſons which made it neceſſary to conform to it. He had gained ſome of them by promiſes, others he had wrought upon by threats, and all were intimidated by the rigour with which obedience to the Interim was extorted in the neighbouring provinces. Even Melancthon, whoſe merit of every kind entitled him to the firſt place among the proteſtant divines, being now deprived of the manly counſels of Luther, which were wont to inſpire him with fortitude, and to preſerve him ſteady amidſt the ſtorms and dangers that threatened the church, was ſeduced into unwarrantable conceſſions, by the timidity of

his temper, his fond desire of peace, and his excessive complaisance towards persons of high rank. By his arguments and authority, no less than by Maurice's address, the assembly was prevailed on to declare, "that, in points which were purely indifferent, obedience was due to the commands of a lawful superior." Founding upon this maxim, no less uncontrovertible in theory, than dangerous when carried into practice, especially in religious matters, many of the protestant ecclesiastics whom Maurice consulted, proceeded to class, among the number of things indifferent, several doctrines, which Luther had pointed out as gross and pernicious errors in the Romish creed; and placing in the same rank many of those rites which distinguished the reformed from the popish worship, they exhorted their people to comply with the emperor's injunctions concerning these particulars §.

By this dexterous conduct, the introduction of the Interim excited none of those violent convulsions in Saxony which it occasioned in other provinces. But though the Saxons submitted, the more zealous Lutherans exclaimed against Melancthon and his associates, as false brethren, who were either so wicked as to apostatize from the truth altogether; or so crafty as to betray it by subtle distinctions; or so feeble-spirited as to give it up from pusillanimity and criminal complaisance to a prince, capable of sacrificing to his political interest that which he himself regarded as most sacred. Maurice, being conscious what a colour of probability his past conduct gave to those accusations, as well as afraid of losing entirely the confidence of the protestants, issued a declaration containing professions of his zealous attachment to the reformed religion, and of his resolution to guard against all the errors or encroachments of the papal sect †.

§ Sleid. 481, 485. Jo. Laur. Moshemii Institutionem Hist. Ecclesiasticæ, lib. iv. Helmst. 1755, 4to. p. 748. Jo. And. Schmidii Historia Interimistica, p. 70, &c. Helmst. 1730.

† Sleid. 485.

Having gone ſo far in order to remove the fears and jealouſies of the proteſtants, he found it neceſſary to efface the impreſſion which ſuch a declaration might make upon the emperor. For that purpoſe, he not only renewed his profeſſions of an inviolable adherence to his alliance with him, but as the city of Magdeburg ſtill perſiſted in rejecting the Interim, he undertook to reduce it to obedience, and inſtantly ſet about levying troops to be employed in that ſervice. This damped all the hopes which the proteſtants began to conceive of Maurice, in conſequence of his declaration, and left them more than ever at a loſs to gueſs at his real intentions. Their former ſuſpicion and diſtruſt of him revived, and the divines of Magdeburg filled Germany with writings in which they repreſented him as the moſt formidable enemy of the proteſtant religion, who treacherouſly aſſumed an appearance of zeal for its intereſt, that he might more effectually execute his ſchemes for its deſtruction.

This charge, ſupported by the evidence of recent facts, as well as by his preſent dubious conduct, gained ſuch univerſal credit, that Maurice was obliged to take a vigorous ſtep in his own vindication. As ſoon as the re-aſſembling of the council at Trent was propoſed in the diet, his ambaſſadors proteſted that their maſter would not acknowledge its authority, unleſs all the points which had been already decided there, were reviewed, and conſidered as ſtill undetermined; unleſs the proteſtant divines had a full hearing granted them, and were allowed a deciſive voice in the council; and unleſs the pope renounced his pretenſions to preſide in the council, engaged to ſubmit to its decrees, and to abſolve the biſhops from their oath of obedience, that they might deliver their ſentiments with greater freedom. Theſe demands, which were higher than any that the reformers had ventured to make, even when the zeal of their party was warmeſt, or their affairs moſt proſperous, counterbalanced in ſome degree, the impreſſion which Maurice's preparations againſt Magdeburg had made upon the minds of the proteſtants, and

kept them in suspense with regard to his designs. At the same time, he had dexterity enough to represent this part of his conduct in such a light to the emperor, that it gave him no offence, and occasioned no interruption of the strict confidence which subsisted between them. What the pretexts were which he employed, in order to give such a bold declaration an innocent appearance, the contemporary historians have not explained; that they imposed upon Charles is certain, for he still continued not only to prosecute his plan, as well concerning the Interim as the council, with the same ardour, but to place the same confidence in Maurice, with regard to the execution of both.

The pope's resolution concerning the council not being yet known at Augsburg, the chief business of the diet was to enforce the observation of the Interim. As the senate of Magdeburg, notwithstanding various endeavours to frighten or to soothe them into compliance, not only persevered obstinately in their opposition to the Interim, but began to strengthen the fortifications of their city, and to levy troops in their own defence, Charles required the diet to assist him in quelling this audacious rebellion against a decree of the empire. Had the members of the diet been left to act agreeably to their own inclination, this demand would have been rejected without hesitation. All the Germans who favoured, in any degree, the new opinions in religion, and many who were influenced by no other consideration than jealousy of the emperor's growing power, regarded this effort of the citizens of Magdeburg, as a noble stand for the liberties of their country. Even such as had not resolution to exert the same spirit, admired the gallantry of their enterprise, and wished it success. But the presence of Spanish troops, together with the dread of the emperor's displeasure, overawed the members of the diet to such a degree, that, without venturing to utter their own sentiments, they tamely ratified, by their votes, whatever the emperor was pleased to prescribe. The rigorous decrees, which Charles had issued

by his own authority against the Magdeburgers, were confirmed; a resolution was taken to raise troops in order to besiege the city in form; and persons were named to fix the contingent in men or money to be furnished by each state. At the same time the diet petitioned that Maurice might be entrusted with the command of that army; to which Charles gave his consent with great alacrity, and with high encomiums upon the wisdom of the choice which they had made§. As Maurice conducted all his schemes with profound and impenetrable secrecy, it is probable that he took no step avowedly in order to obtain this charge. The recommendation of his countrymen was either purely accidental, or flowed from the opinion generally entertained of his great abilities; and neither the diet had any foresight, nor the emperor any dread, of the consequences which followed upon this nomination. Maurice accepted, without hesitation, the command to which he was recommended, instantly discerning the important advantages which he might derive from having it committed to him.

Meanwhile, Julius, in preparing the bull for the convocation of the council, observed all those tedious forms which the court of Rome can artfully employ to retard any disagreeable measure. At last, however, it was published, and the council was summoned to meet at Trent on the first day of the ensuing month of May. As he knew that many of the Germans rejected or disputed the authority and jurisdiction which the papal see claims with respect to general councils, he took care, in the preamble of the bull, to assert, in the strongest terms, his own right, not only to call and preside in that assembly, but to direct its proceedings; nor would he soften these expressions in any degree, in compliance with the repeated solicitations of the emperor; who foresaw what offence they would give, and what construction might be put on them. They were censured accordingly with great severity by several members of the diet; but whatever disgust

§ Sleid. 503, 512.

or fuſpicion they excited, ſuch complete influence over all their deliberations had the emperor acquired, that he procured a receſs [Feb. 13, 1551], in which the authority of the council was recogniſed, and declared to be the proper remedy for the evils which at that time afflicted the church; all the princes and ſtates of the empire, ſuch as had made innovations in religion, as well as thoſe who adhered to the ſyſtem of their forefathers, were required to ſend their repreſentatives to the council; the emperor engaged to grant a ſafe-conduct to ſuch as demanded it, and to ſecure them an impartial hearing in the council; he promiſed to fix his reſidence in ſome city of the empire, in the neighbourhood of Trent, that he might protect the members of the council by his preſence, and take care that, by conducting their deliberations agreeably to ſcripture and the doctrine of the fathers, they might bring them to a deſirable iſſue. In this receſs, the obſervation of the Interim was more ſtrictly enjoined than ever; and the emperor threatened all who had hitherto neglected or refuſed to conform to it, with the ſevereſt effects of his vengeance, if they perſiſted in their diſobedience§.

During the meeting of this diet, a new attempt was made, in order to procure liberty to the landgrave. That prince, no ways reconciled to his ſituation by time, grew every day more impatient of reſtraint. Having often applied to Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg, who took every occaſion of ſoliciting the emperor in his behalf, though without any effect, he now commanded his ſons to ſummon them, with legal formality, to perform what was contained in the bond which they had granted him, by ſurrendering themſelves into their hands to be treated with the ſame rigour as the emperor had uſed him. This furniſhed them with a freſh pretext for renewing their application to the emperor, together with an additional argument to enforce it. Charles firmly reſolved not to grant their requeſt; though, at the

§ Sleid. 512. Thuan. lib. vi. 233. Goldaſti Conſtit. Imperiales, vol ii. 340.

ſame time, being extremely deſirous to be delivered from their inceſſant importunity, he endeavoured to prevail on the landgrave to give up the bond which he had received from the two electors. But that prince refuſing to part with a ſecurity which he deemed eſſential to his ſafety, the emperor boldly cut the knot which he could not untie; and by a public deed annulled the bond which Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg had granted, abſolving them from all their engagements to the landgrave. No pretenſion to a power ſo pernicious to ſociety as that of abrogating at pleaſure the moſt ſacred laws of honour, and moſt formal obligations of public faith, had hitherto been formed by any but the Roman pontiffs, who, in conſequence of their claim of ſupreme power on earth, arrogate the right of diſpenſing with precepts and duties of every kind. All Germany was filled with aſtoniſhment, when Charles aſſumed the ſame prerogative. The ſtate of ſubjection, to which the empire was reduced, appeared to be more rigorous, as well as intolerable, than that of the moſt wretched and enſlaved nations, if the emperor, by an arbitrary decree, might cancel thoſe ſolemn contracts which are the foundation of that mutual confidence whereby men are held together in ſocial union. The landgrave himſelf now gave up all hopes of recovering his liberty by the emperor's conſent, and endeavoured to procure it by his own addreſs. But the plan which he had formed to deceive his guards being diſcovered, ſuch of his attendants as he had gained to favour his eſcape, were put to death, and he was confined in the citadel of Mechlin more cloſely than ever †.

Another tranſaction was carried on during this diet, with reſpect to an affair more nearly intereſting to the emperor, and which occaſioned likewiſe a general alarm among the princes of the empire. Charles, though formed with talents which fitted him for conceiving and conducting great deſigns, was not capable, as has been often obſerved, of

† Sleid. 504. Thuan. l. vi. 234, 235.

bearing extraordinary ſucceſs. Its operation on his mind was ſo violent and intoxicating, that it elevated him beyond what was moderate or attainable, and turned his whole attention to the purſuit of vaſt but chimerical objects. Such had been the effect of his victory over the confederates of Smalkalde. He did not long reſt ſatisfied with the ſubſtantial and certain advantages which were the reſult of that event, but, deſpiſing theſe, as poor or inconſiderable fruits of ſuch great ſucceſs, he aimed at nothing leſs than at bringing all Germany to an uniformity in religion, and at rendering the Imperial power deſpotic. Theſe were objects extremely ſplendid indeed, and alluring to an ambitious mind; the purſuit of them, however, was attended with manifeſt danger, and the hope of attaining them very uncertain. But the ſteps which he had already taken towards them, having been accompanied with ſuch ſucceſs, his imagination, warmed with contemplating this alluring object, overlooked or deſpiſed all remaining difficulties. As he conceived the execution of his plan to be certain, he began to be ſolicitous how he might render the poſſeſſion of ſuch an important acquiſition perpetual in his family, by tranſmitting the German empire, together with the kingdoms of Spain, and his dominions in Italy and the Low-Countries, to his ſon. Having long revolved this flattering idea in his mind, without communicating it, even to thoſe miniſters whom he moſt truſted, he had called Philip out of Spain, in hopes that his preſence would facilitate the carrying forward the ſcheme.

Great obſtacles, however, and ſuch as would have deterred any ambition leſs accuſtomed to overcome difficulties, were to be ſurmounted. He had, in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty, imprudently aſſiſted in procuring his brother Ferdinand the dignity of king of the Romans, and there was no probability that this prince, who was ſtill in the prime of life, and had a ſon grown up to the years of manhood, would relinquiſh, in favour of his nephew, the

near profpect of the Imperial throne, which Charles's infirmities and declining ftate of health opened to himfelf. This did not deter the emperor from venturing to make the propofition; and when Ferdinand, notwithftanding his profound reverence for his brother, and obfequious fubmiffion to his will in other inftances, rejected it in a peremptory tone, he was not difcouraged by one repulfe. He renewed his applications to him by his fifter, Mary queen of Hungary, to whom Ferdinand ftood indebted for the crowns both of Hungary and Bohemia, and who, by her great abilities, tempered with extreme gentlenefs of difpofition, had acquired an extraordinary influence over both the brothers. She entered warmly into a meafure, which tended fo manifeftly to aggrandize the houfe of Auftria, and flattering herfelf that fhe could tempt Ferdinand to renounce the reverfionary poffeffion of the Imperial dignity for an immediate eftablifhment, fhe affured him that the emperor, by way of compenfation for his giving up his chance of fucceffion would inftantly beftow upon him territories of very confiderable value, and pointed out in particular thofe of the duke of Wurtemberg, which might be confifcated upon different pretexts. But neither by her addrefs nor intreaties could fhe induce Ferdinand to approve of a plan, which would not only have degraded him from the higheft rank among the monarchs of Europe to that of a fubordinate and dependent prince, but would have involved both him and his pofterity in perpetual contefts. He was, at the fame time, more attached to his children, than by a rafh conceffion to fruftrate all the high hopes, in profpect of which they had been educated.

Notwithftanding the immoveable firmnefs which Ferdinand difcovered, the emperor did not abandon his fcheme. He flattered himfelf that he might attain the object in view by another channel, and that it was not impoffible to prevail on the electors to cancel their former choice of Ferdinand, or at leaft to elect Philip a fecond king of the Romans, fubftituting him as next in fucceffion to his uncle.

With this view, he took Philip along with him to the diet, that the Germans might have an opportunity to obſerve and become acquainted with the prince, in behalf of whom he courted their intereſt; and he himſelf employed all the arts of addreſs or inſinuation to gain the electors, and to prepare them for liſtening with a favourable ear to the propoſal. But no ſooner did he venture upon mentioning it to them, than they, at once, ſaw and trembled at the conſequences with which it would be attended. They had long felt all the inconveniencies of having placed at the head of the empire a prince whoſe power and dominions were ſo extenſive; if they ſhould now repeat the folly, and continue the Imperial crown, like an hereditary dignity, in the ſame family, they foreſaw that they would give the ſon an opportunity of carrying on that ſyſtem of oppreſſion which the father had begun; and would put it in his power to overturn whatever was yet left entire in the ancient and venerable fabric of the German conſtitution.

The character of the prince, in whoſe favour this extraordinary propoſition was made, rendered it ſtill leſs agreeable. Philip, though poſſeſſed with an inſatiable deſire of power, was a ſtranger to all the arts of conciliating good-will. Haughty, reſerved, and ſevere, he, inſtead of gaining new friends, diſguſted the ancient and moſt devoted partizans of the Auſtrian intereſt. He ſcorned to take the trouble of acquiring the language of the country to the government of which he aſpired; nor would he condeſcend to pay the Germans the compliment of accommodating himſelf, during his reſidence among them, to their manners and cuſtoms.* He allowed the electors and moſt illuſtrious princes in Germany to remain in his preſence uncovered, affecting a ſtately and diſtant demeanour, which the greateſt of the German emperors, and even Charles himſelf, amidſt the pride of power and victory, had never aſſumed. On the

* Frediman Andreæ Zulich Diſſertatio politico hiſtorica de Nævis politicis Caroli V. Lipſ. 1706. 4to. p. 21.

other hand, Ferdinand, from the time of his arrival in Germany, had ſtudied to render himſelf acceptable to the people, by a conformity to their manners, which ſeemed to flow from choice; and his ſon Maximilian, who was born in Germany, poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, ſuch amiable qualities as rendered him the darling of his countrymen, and induced them to look forward to his election as a moſt deſirable event. Their eſteem and affection for him, fortified the reſolution which ſound policy had ſuggeſted; and determined the Germans to prefer the popular virtues of Ferdinand and his ſon, to the ſtubborn auſterity of Philip, which intereſt could not ſoften, nor ambition teach him to diſguiſe. All the electors, the eccleſiaſtical as well as ſecular, concurred in expreſſing ſuch ſtrong diſapprobation of the meaſure, that Charles, notwithſtanding the reluctance with which he gave up any point, was obliged to drop the ſcheme as impracticable. By his unſeaſonable perſeverance in puſhing it, he had not only filled the Germans with new jealouſy of his ambitious deſigns, but laid the foundation of rivalſhip and diſcord in the Auſtrian family, and forced his brother Ferdinand, in ſelf-defence, to court the electors, particularly Maurice of Saxony, and to form ſuch connections with them, as cut off all proſpect of renewing the propoſal with ſucceſs. Philip, ſoured by his diſappointment, was ſent back to Spain, to be called thence when any new ſcheme of ambition ſhould render his preſence neceſſary†.

Having relinquiſhed this plan of domeſtic ambition, which had long occupied and engroſſed him, Charles imagined that he would now have leiſure to turn all his attention towards his grand ſcheme of eſtabliſhing uniformity of religion in the empire, by forcing all the contending parties to acquieſce in the deciſions of the council of Trent. But ſuch was the extent of his dominions, the variety of con-

† Sleid. 505. Thuan. 180, 238. Memoir. de Ribier, ii. 219, 281, 314. Adriani Iſtor. lib. viii. 507, 520.

nections in which this entangled him, and the multiplicity of events to which these gave rise, as seldom allowed him to apply his whole force to any one object. The machine which he had to conduct was so great and complicated, that an unforeseen irregularity or obstruction in one of the inferior wheels, often disconcerted the motion of the whole, and prevented his deriving from them all the beneficial effects which he expected. Such an unlooked-for occurrence happened at this juncture, and created new obstacles to the execution of his schemes with regard to religion. Julius III. though he had confirmed Octavio Farnese in the possession of the dutchy of Parma, during the first effusions of his joy and gratitude on his promotion to the papal throne, soon began to repent of his own generosity, and to be apprehensive of consequences which either he did not foresee, or had disregarded, while the sense of his obligations to the family of Farnese was recent. The emperor still retained Placentia in his hands, and had not relinquished his pretensions to Parma as a fief of the empire. Gonzaga, the governor of Milan, having, by the part which he took in the murder of the late duke Peter Ludovico, offered an insult to the family of Farnese, which he knew could never be forgiven, had, for that reason, vowed its destruction; and employed all the influence which his great abilities, as well as long services, gave him with the emperor, in persuading him to seize Parma by force of arms. Charles, in compliance with his solicitations, and that he might gratify his own desire of annexing Parma to the Milanese, listened to the proposal; and Gonzaga, ready to take encouragement from the slightest appearance of approbation, began to assemble troops, and to make other preparations for the execution of his scheme.

Octavio, who saw the impending danger, found it necessary, for his own safety, to increase the garrison of his capital, and to levy soldiers for defending the rest of the country. But as the expence of such an effort far exceeded his

ſcanty revenues, he repreſented his ſituation to the pope, and implored that protection and aſſiſtance which was due to him as a vaſſal of the church. The Imperial miniſter, however, had already pre-occupied the pope's ear; and by diſcourſing continually concerning the danger of giving offence to the emperor, as well as the imprudence of ſupporting Octavio in an uſurpation ſo detrimental to the holy ſee, had totally alienated him from the family of Farneſe. Octavio's remonſtrance and petition met, of conſequence, with a cold reception; and he, deſpairing of any aſſiſtance from Julius, began to look round for protection from ſome other quarter. Henry II. of France was the only prince powerful enough to afford him this protection, and fortunately he was now in a ſituation which allowed him to grant it. He had brought his tranſactions with the two Britiſh kingdoms which had hitherto diverted his attention from the affairs of the continent, to ſuch an iſſue as he deſired. This he had effected partly by the vigour of his arms, partly by his dexterity in taking advantage of the political factions which raged in both kingdoms to ſuch a degree, as rendered the councils of the Scots violent and precipitate, and the operations of the Engliſh feeble and unſteady. He had procured from the Engliſh favourable conditions of peace for his allies the Scots; he had prevailed on the nobles of Scotland not only to affiance their young queen to his ſon the dauphin, but even to ſend her into France, that ſhe might be educated under his eye; and had recovered Boulogne, together with its dependencies, which had been conquered by Henry VIII.

The French king having gained points of ſo much conſequence to his crown, and diſengaged himſelf with ſuch honour from the burden of ſupporting the Scots, and maintaining a war againſt England, was now at full leiſure to purſue the meaſures which his hereditary jealouſy of the emperor's power naturally ſuggeſted. He liſtened accordingly, to the firſt overtures which Octavio Farneſe made

him; and embracing eagerly an opportunity of recovering footing in Italy, he inſtantly concluded a treaty, in which he bound himſelf to eſpouſe his cauſe, and to furniſh him all the aſſiſtance which he deſired. This tranſaction could not be long kept ſecret from the pope; who foreſeeing the calamities which muſt follow if war were rekindled ſo near the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, immediately iſſued monitory letters requiring Octavio to relinquiſh his new alliance. Upon his refuſal to comply with the requiſition, he ſoon after pronounced his fief to be forfeited, and declared war againſt him as a diſobedient and rebellious vaſſal. But as, with his own forces alone, he could not hope to ſubdue Octavio while ſupported by ſuch a powerful ally as the king of France, he had recourſe to the emperor, who being extremely ſolicitous to prevent the eſtabliſhment of the French in Parma, ordered Gonzaga to ſecond Julius with all his troops. Thus the French took the field as the allies of Octavio, the Imperialiſts as the protectors of the holy ſee; and hoſtilities commenced between them, while Charles and Henry themſelves ſtill affected to give out that they would adhere inviolably to the peace of Creſpy. The war of Parma was not diſtinguiſhed by any memorable event. Many ſmall rencountres happened with alternate ſucceſs; the French ravaged part of the eccleſiaſtical territories; the Imperialiſts laid waſte the Parmeſan; and the latter, after having begun to beſiege Parma in form, were obliged to abandon the enterpriſe with diſgrace *.

But the motions and alarm which this war, or the preparations for it, occaſioned in Italy, prevented moſt of the Italian prelates from repairing to Trent on the firſt of May, the day appointed for re-aſſembling the council; and though the papal legate and nuncios reſorted thither, they were obliged to adjourn the council to the firſt of September, hop-

* Adriani Iſtor. lib. viii. 505, 514, 524. Sleid. 513. Paruta, p. 220. Lettere del Caro ſcritte al nome del Card. Farneſe, tom. ii. p. 11, &c.

ing ſuch a number of prelates might then aſſemble, that they might with decency begin their deliberations. At that time about ſixty prelates, moſtly from the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, or from Spain, together with a few Germans, convened †. The ſeſſion was opened with the accuſtomed formalities, and the fathers were about to proceed to buſineſs, when the abbot of Bellozane appeared, and preſenting letters of credence as ambaſſador from the king of France, demanded audience. Having obtained it; he proteſted, in Henry's name, againſt an aſſembly called at ſuch an improper juncture, when a war, wantonly kindled by the pope, made it impoſſible for the deputies from the Gallican church to reſort to Trent in ſafety, or to deliberate concerning articles of faith and diſcipline with the requiſite tranquillity; he declared, that his maſter did not acknowledge this to be a general or oecumenic council, but muſt conſider, and would treat it, as a particular and partial convention ‡. The legate affected to deſpiſe this proteſt; and the prelates proceeded, notwithſtanding, to examine and decide the great points in controverſy concerning the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, penance, and extreme unction. This meaſure of the French monarch, however, gave a deep wound to the credit of the council, at the very commencement of its deliberations. The Germans would not pay much regard to an aſſembly, the authority of which the ſecond prince in Chriſtendom had formally diſclaimed, or feel any great reverence for the deciſions of a few men, who arrogated to themſelves all the rights belonging to the repreſentatives of the church univerſal, a title to which they had ſuch poor pretenſions.

The emperor, neverthleſs, was ſtraining his authority to the utmoſt, in order to eſtabliſh the reputation and juriſdiction of the council. He had prevailed on the three eccleſiaſtical electors, the prelates of greateſt power and dignity in the church next to the pope, to repair thither in per-

† F. Paul, 268. ‡ Sleid. 518. Thuan. 282. F. Paul, 301.

ſon. He had obliged ſeveral German biſhops of inferior rank, to go to Trent themſelves, or to ſend their proxies. He granted an Imperial ſafe-conduct to the ambaſſadors nominated by the elector of Brandenburg, the duke of Wurtemberg, and other proteſtants, to attend the council; and exhorted them to ſend their divines thither, in order to propound, explain, and defend their doctrine. At the ſame time, his zeal anticipated the decrees of the council; and as if the opinions of the proteſtants had already been condemned, he took large ſteps towards exterminating them. With this intention, he called together the miniſters of Augſburg; and after interrogating them concerning ſeveral controverted points enjoined them to teach nothing with reſpect to theſe contrary to the tenets of the Romiſh church. Upon their declining to comply with a requiſition ſo contrary to the dictates of their conſciences, he commanded them to leave the town in three days, without revealing to any perſon the cauſe of their baniſhment; he prohibited them to preach for the future in any province of the empire; and obliged them to take an oath that they would punctually obey theſe injunctions. They were not the only victims to his zeal. The proteſtant clergy, in moſt of the cities in the circle of Suabia, were ejected with the ſame violence; and in many places, ſuch magiſtrates as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their attachment to the new opinions, were diſmiſſed with the moſt abrupt irregularity, and their offices filled, in conſequence of the emperor's arbitrary appointment, with the moſt bigotted of their adverſaries. The reformed worſhip was almoſt entirely ſuppreſſed throughout that extenſive province. The ancient and fundamental privileges of the free cities were violated. The people were compelled to attend the miniſtration of prieſts, whom they regarded with horror as idolaters; and to ſubmit to the juriſdiction of magiſtrates, whom they deteſted as uſurpers *.

The emperor, after this diſcovery, which was more explicit than any that he had hitherto made, of his intention

* Sleid. 516, 528. Thuan. 276.

to ſubvert the German conſtitution, as well as to extirpate the proteſtant religion, ſet out for Inſpruck in the Tyrol. He fixed his reſidence in that city [Novem.], as, by its ſituation in the neighbourhood of Trent, and on the confines of Italy, it appeared a commodious ſtation, whence he might inſpect the operations of the council, and obſerve the progreſs of the war in the Parmeſan without loſing ſight of ſuch occurrences as might happen in Germany†.

During theſe tranſactions, the ſiege of Magdeburg was carried on with various ſucceſs. At the time when Charles proſcribed the citizens of Magdeburg, and put them under the ban of the empire, he had exhorted and even enjoined all the neighbouring ſtates to take arms againſt them, as rebels and common enemies. Encouraged by his exhortations as well as promiſes, George of Mecklenburg, a younger brother of the reigning duke, an active and ambitious prince, collected a conſiderable number of thoſe ſoldiers of fortune who had accompanied Henry of Brunſwick in all his wild enterpriſes; and though a zealous Lutheran himſelf, invaded the territories of the Magdeburgers, hoping that, by the merit of this ſervice, he might procure ſome part of their domains to be allotted to him as an eſtabliſhment. The citizens, unaccuſtomed as yet to endure patiently the calamities of war, could not be reſtrained from ſallying out in order to ſave their lands from being laid waſte. They attacked the duke of Mecklenburg with more reſolution than conduct, and were repulſed with great ſlaughter. But as they were animated with that unconquerable ſpirit, which flows from zeal for religion co operating with the love of civil liberty, far from being diſheartened by their misfortune, they prepared to defend themſelves with vigour. Many of the veteran ſoldiers who had ſerved in the long wars between the emperor and king of France, crowding to their ſtandards under able and experienced officers, the citizens acquired military ſkill by degrees, and added all the advantages of

† Sleid. 529.

that to the efforts of undaunted courage. The duke of Mecklenburg, notwithſtanding the ſevere blow which he had given the Magdeburgers, not daring to inveſt a town ſtrongly fortified, and defended by ſuch a garriſon, continued to ravage the open country.

As the hopes of booty drew many adventurers to the camp of this young prince, Maurice of Saxony began to be jealous of the power which he poſſeſſed by being at the head of ſuch a numerous body, and marching towards Magdeburg with his own troops, aſſumed the ſupreme command of the whole army, an honour to which his high rank and great abilities, as well as the nomination of the diet, gave him an indiſputable title. With this united force, he inveſted the town, and began the ſiege in form; claiming great merit with the emperor on that account, as from his zeal to execute the Imperial decree, he was expoſing himſelf once more to the cenſures and maledictions of the party with which he agreed in religious ſentiments. But the approaches to the town went on ſlowly; the garriſon interrupted the beſiegers by frequent ſallies, in one of which George of Mecklenburg was taken priſoner, levelled part of their works, and cut off the ſoldiers in their advanced poſts. While the citizens of Magdeburg, animated by the diſcourſes of their paſtors, and the ſoldiers, encouraged by the example of their officers, endured all the hardſhips of a ſiege without murmuring, and defended themſelves with the ſame ardour which they had at firſt diſcovered; the troops of the beſiegers acted with extreme remiſſneſs, repining at every thing that they ſuffered in a ſervice which they diſliked. They broke out more than once into an open mutiny, demanding the arrears of their pay, which, as the members of the Germanic body ſent in their contributions towards defraying the expences of the war ſparingly, and with great reluctance, amounted to a conſiderable ſum*. Maurice, too, had particular motives, though ſuch as he durſt not avow at that juncture, which

* Thuan. 277. Sleid. 514.

induced him not to puſh the ſiege with vigour, and made him chuſe rather to continue at the head of an army expoſed to all the imputations which his dilatory proceedings drew upon him, than to precipitate a conqueſt that might have brought him ſome acceſſion of reputation, but would have rendered it neceſſary to diſband his forces.

At laſt, the inhabitants of the town beginning to ſuffer diſtreſs from want of proviſions, and Maurice, finding it impoſſible to protract matters any longer without filling the emperor with ſuch ſuſpicions as might have diſconcerted all his meaſures, he concluded a treaty of capitulation with the city [Novem. 3] upon the following conditions; that the Magdeburgers ſhould humbly implore pardon of the emperor; that they ſhould not for the future take arms, or enter into any alliance againſt the houſe of Auſtria; that they ſhould ſubmit to the authority of the Imperial chamber; that they ſhould conform to the decree of the diet at Augſburg with reſpect to religion; that the new fortifications added to the town ſhould be demoliſhed; that they ſhould pay a fine of fifty thouſand crowns, deliver up twelve pieces of ordnance to the emperor, and ſet the duke of Mecklenburg, together with their other priſoners, at liberty, without ranſom. Next day their garriſon marched out, and Maurice took poſſeſſion of the town with great military pomp.

Before the terms of capitulation were ſettled, Maurice had held many conferences with Albert count Mansfeldt, who had the chief command in Magdeburg. He conſulted likewiſe with count Heideck, an officer who had ſerved with great reputation in the army of the league of Smalkalde, whom the emperor had proſcribed on account of his zeal for that cauſe, but whom Maurice had, notwithſtanding, ſecretly engaged in his ſervice, and admitted into the moſt intimate confidence. To them he communicated a ſcheme, which he had long revolved in his mind, for procuring liberty to his father-in-law the landgrave, for vindicating the pri-

vileges of the Germanic body, and setting bounds to the dangerous encroachments of the Imperial power. Having deliberated with them concerning the measures which might be necessary for securing the success of such an arduous enterprise, he gave Mansfeldt secret assurances that the fortifications of Magdeburg should not be destroyed, and that the inhabitants should neither be disturbed in the exercise of their religion, nor be deprived of any of their ancient immunities. In order to engage Maurice more thoroughly from considerations of interest to fulfil these engagements, the senate of Magdeburg elected him their burgrave, a dignity which had formerly belonged to the electoral house of Saxony, and which entitled him to a very ample jurisdiction not only in the city but in its dependencies †.

Thus the citizens of Magdeburg, after enduring a siege of twelve months, and struggling for their liberties, religious and civil, with an invincible fortitude, worthy of the cause in which it was exerted, had at last the good fortune to conclude a treaty which left them in a better condition than the rest of their countrymen, whom their timidity or want of public spirit had betrayed into such mean submissions to the emperor. But while a great part of Germany applauded the gallant conduct of the Magdeburgers, and rejoiced in their having escaped the destruction with which they had been threatened, all admired Maurice's address in the conduct of his negotiation with them, as well as the dexterity with which he converted every event to his own advantage. They saw, with amazement, that after having afflicted the Magdeburgers during many months with all the calamities of war, he was at last, by their voluntary election, advanced to the station of highest authority in that city which he had so lately besieged; that after having been so long the object of their satirical invectives as an apostate and an enemy to the religion which he professed, they seemed now to place

† Sleid. 528. Thuan. ii. 276. Obsidionis Magdeburgici Descriptio per Sebast. Besselmeierum, ap. Scard. ii. 518.

unbounded confidence in his zeal and good will*. At the ſame time, the public articles in the treaty of capitulation were ſo perfectly conformable to thoſe which the emperor had granted to the other proteſtant cities, and Maurice took ſuch care to magnify his merit in having reduced a place which had defended itſelf with ſo much obſtinacy, that Charles, far from ſuſpecting any thing fraudulent or colluſive in the terms of accommodation, ratified them without heſitation, and abſolved the Magdeburgers from the ſentence of ban which had been denounced againſt them.

The only point that now remained to embarraſs Maurice was how to keep together the veteran troops which had ſerved under him, as well as thoſe which had been employed in the defence of the town. For this, too, he found an expedient with ſingular art and felicity. His ſchemes againſt the emperor were not yet ſo fully ripened, that he durſt venture to diſcloſe them, and proceed openly to carry them into execution. The winter was approaching, which made it impoſſible to take the field immediately. He was afraid that it would give a premature alarm to the emperor, if he ſhould retain ſuch a conſiderable body in his pay until the ſeaſon of action returned in the ſpring. As ſoon then as Magdeburg opened its gates, he ſent home his Saxon ſubjects, whom he could command to take arms and re-aſſemble on the ſhorteſt warning; and at the ſame time, paying part of the arrears due to the mercenary troops, who had followed his ſtandard, as well as to the ſoldiers who had ſerved in the garriſon, he abſolved them from their reſpective oaths of fidelity, and diſbanded them. But the moment he gave them their diſcharge, George of Mecklenburg, who was now ſet at liberty, offered to take them into his ſervice, and to become ſurety for the payment of what was ſtill owing to them. As ſuch adventurers were accuſtomed often to change maſters, they inſtantly accepted the offer. Thus theſe troops were kept united, and ready to march wherever

* Arnoldi vita Maurit. apud Menken, ii. 1227.

Maurice ſhould call them, while the emperor, deceived by this artifice, and imagining that George of Mecklenburg had hired them with an intention to aſſert his claim to a part of his brother's territories by force of arms, ſuffered this tranſaction to paſs without obſervation, as if it had been a matter of no conſequence†.

Having ventured to take theſe ſteps, which were of ſo much conſequence towards the execution of his ſchemes, Maurice, that he might divert the emperor from obſerving their tendency too narrowly, and prevent the ſuſpicions which that muſt have excited, ſaw the neceſſity of employing ſome new artifice in order to engage his attention, and to confirm him in his preſent ſecurity. As he knew that the chief object of the emperor's ſolicitude at this juncture, was how he might prevail with the proteſtant ſtates of Germany to recognize the authority of the council of Trent, and to ſend thither ambaſſadors in their own name, as well as deputies from their reſpective churches, he took hold of this predominating paſſion in order to amuſe and to deceive him. He affected a wonderful zeal to gratify Charles in what he deſired with regard to this matter; he nominated ambaſſadors, whom he empowered to attend the council; he made choice of Melancthon and ſome of the moſt eminent among his brethren to prepare a confeſſion of faith, and to lay it before that aſſembly. After his example, and probably in conſequence of his ſolicitations, the duke of Wurtemberg, the city of Straſburg, and other proteſtant ſtates, appointed ambaſſadors and divines to attend the council. They all applied to the emperor for his ſafe-conduct, which they obtained in the moſt ample form. This was deemed ſufficient for the ſecurity of the ambaſſadors, and they proceeded accordingly on their journey; but a ſeparate ſafe-conduct from the council itſelf was demanded for the proteſtant divines. The fate of John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, whom the

† Thuan. 278. Struv. Corp. Hiſt. Germ. 1064. Arnoldi vita Mauritii, apud Menken, ii. 1227.

council of Conſtance, in the preceding century, had condemned to the flames without regarding the Imperial ſafe-conduct which had been granted them, rendered this precaution prudent and neceſſary. But as the pope was no leſs unwilling that the proteſtants ſhould be admitted to an hearing in the council, than the emperor had been eager in bringing them to demand it, the legate by promiſes and threats prevailed on the fathers of the council to decline iſſuing a ſafe-conduct in the ſame form with that which the council of Baſil had granted to the followers of Huſs. The proteſtants, on their part, inſiſted upon the council's copying the preciſe words of that inſtrument. The Imperial ambaſſadors interpoſed in order to obtain what would ſatisfy them. Alterations in the form of the writ were propoſed; expedients were ſuggeſted; proteſts and counter-proteſts were taken: the legate, together with his aſſociates, laboured to gain their point by artifice and chicane; the proteſtants adhered to theirs with firmneſs and obſtinacy. An account of every thing that paſſed in Trent was tranſmitted to the emperor at Inſpruck, who, attempting, from an exceſs of zeal, or of confidence in his own addreſs, to reconcile the contending parties, was involved in a labyrinth of inextricable negotiations. By means of this, however, Maurice gained all that he had in view; the emperor's time was wholly engroſſed, and his attention diverted; while he himſelf had leiſure to mature his ſchemes, to carry on his intrigues, and to finiſh his preparations, before he threw off the maſk, and ſtruck the blow which he had ſo long meditated*.

But previous to entering into any farther detail concerning Maurice's operations, ſome account muſt be given of a new revolution in Hungary, which contributed not a little towards their producing ſuch extraordinary effects. When Solyman, in the year 1541, by a ſtratagem, which ſuited the baſe and inſidious policy of a petty uſurper, rather than the magnanimity of a mighty conqueror, deprived

* Sleid. 526, 529. F. Paul, 323, 338. Thuan. 286.

the young king of Hungary of the dominions which his father had left him, he had granted that unfortunate prince the country of Tranſylvania, a province of his paternal kingdom. The government of this, together with the care of educating the young king, for he ſtill allowed him to retain that title, though he had rendered it only an empty name, he committed to the queen and Martinuzzi biſhop of Waradin, whom the late king had appointed joint guardians of his ſon, and regents of his dominions, at a time when thoſe offices were of greater importance. This coordinate juriſdiction occaſioned the ſame diſſenſions in a ſmall principality as it would have excited in a great kingdom; an ambitious young queen, poſſeſſed with an high opinion of her own capacity for governing; and an high-ſpirited prelate, fond of power, contending who ſhould engroſs the greateſt ſhare in the adminiſtration. Each had their partizans among the nobles; but as Martinuzzi, by his great talents, began to acquire the aſcendant, Iſabella turned his own arts againſt him, and courted the protection of the Turks.

The neighbouring baſhas, jealous of the biſhop's power as well as abilities, readily promiſed her the aid which ſhe demanded, and would ſoon have obliged Martinuzzi to have given up to her the ſole direction of affairs, if his ambition, fertile in expedients, had not ſuggeſted to him a new meaſure, and one that tended not only to preſerve but to enlarge his authority. Having concluded an agreement with the queen, by the mediation of ſome of the nobles, who were ſolicitous to ſave their country from the calamities of a civil war, he ſecretly diſpatched one of his confidents to Vienna, and entered into a negotiation with Ferdinand. As it was no difficult matter to perſuade Ferdinand, that the ſame man whoſe enmity and intrigues had driven him out of a great part of his Hungarian dominions, might, upon a reconciliation, become equally inſtrumental in recovering them, he liſtened eagerly to the firſt overtures of an union with that prelate. Martinuz-

zi allured him by ſuch proſpects of advantage, and engaged, with ſo much confidence, that he would prevail on the moſt powerful of the Hungarian nobles to take arms in his favour, that Ferdinand, notwithſtanding his truce with Solyman, agreed to invade Tranſylvania. The command of the troops deſtined for that ſervice, conſiſting of veteran Spaniſh and German ſoldiers, was given to Caſtaldo marquis de Piadena, an officer formed by the famous marquis de Peſcara, whom he ſtrongly reſembled both in his enterpriſing genius for civil buſineſs, and in his great knowledge in the art of war. This army, more formidable by the diſcipline of the ſoldiers, and the abilities of the general, than by its numbers, was powerfully ſeconded by Martinuzzi and his faction among the Hungarians. As the Turkiſh baſhas, the ſultan himſelf being at the head of his army on the frontiers of Perſia, could not afford the queen ſuch immediate or effectual aſſiſtance as the exigency of her affairs required, ſhe quickly loſt all hopes of being able to retain any longer the authority which ſhe poſſeſſed as regent, and even began to deſpair of her ſon's ſafety.

Martinuzzi did not ſuffer this favourable opportunity of accompliſhing his own deſigns to paſs unimproved, and ventured, while ſhe was in this ſtate of dejection, to lay before her a propoſal, which at any other time ſhe would have rejected with diſdain. He repreſented how impoſſible it was for her to reſiſt Ferdinand's victorious arms; that even if the Turks ſhould enable her to make head againſt them, ſhe would be far from changing her condition to the better, and could not conſider them as deliverers, but as maſters, to whoſe commands ſhe muſt ſubmit; he conjured her, therefore, as ſhe regarded her own dignity, the ſafety of her ſon, or the ſecurity of Chriſtendom, rather to give up Tranſylvania to Ferdinand, and to make over to him her ſon's title to the crown of Hungary, than to allow both to be uſurped by the inveterate enemy of the Chriſtian faith. At the ſame time he promiſed her, in Ferdinand's name, a compen-

fation for herfelf, as well as for her fon, fuitable to their rank, and proportional to the value of what they were to facrifice. Ifabella, deferted by fome of her adherents, diftrufting others, deftitute of friends, and furrounded by Caftaldo's and Martinuzzi's troops, fubfcribed thefe hard conditions, though with a reluctant hand. Upon this, fhe furrendered fuch places of ftrength as were ftill in her poffeffion, fhe gave up all the enfigns of royalty, particularly a crown of gold, which, as the Hungarians believed, had defcended from heaven, and conferred on him who wore it an undoubted right to the throne. As fhe could not bear to remain a private perfon, in a country where fhe had once enjoyed fovereign power, fhe inftantly fet out with her fon for Silefia, in order to take poffeffion of the principalities of Oppelen and Ratibor, the inveftiture of which Ferdinand had engaged to grant her fon, and likewife to beftow one of his daughters upon him in marriage.

Upon the refignation of the young king, Martinuzzi, and after his example the reft of the Tranfylvanian grandees, fwore allegiance to Ferdinand; who, in order to teftify his grateful fenfe of the zeal as well as fuccefs with which that prelate had ferved him, affected to diftinguifh him by every poffible mark of favour and confidence. He appointed him governor of Tranfylvania, with almoft unlimited authority; he publicly ordered Caftaldo to pay the greateft deference to his opinion and commands; he increafed his revenues, which were already very great, by new appointments; he nominated him archbifhop of Gran, and prevailed on the pope to raife him to the dignity of a cardinal. All this oftentation of good-will, however, was void of fincerity, and calculated to conceal fentiments the moft perfectly its reverfe. Ferdinand dreaded Martinuzzi's abilities diftrufted his fidelity; and forefaw, that as his extenfive authority enabled him to check any attempt towards circumfcribing or abolifhing the extenfive privileges which the Hungarian nobility poffeffed, he would ftand forth on every

occaſion, the guardian of the liberties of his country, rather than act the part of a viceroy devoted to the will of his ſovereign.

For this reaſon, he ſecretly gave it in charge to Caſtaldo, to watch his motions, to guard againſt his deſigns, and to thwart his meaſures. But Martinuzzi, either becauſe he did not perceive that Caſtaldo was placed as a ſpy on his actions, or becauſe he deſpiſed Ferdinand's inſidious arts, aſſumed the direction of the war againſt the Turks with his uſual tone of authority, and conducted it with great magnanimity, and no leſs ſucceſs. He recovered ſome places of which the infidels had taken poſſeſſion; he rendered their attempts to reduce others abortive; and eſtabliſhed Ferdinand's authority not only in Tranſylvania, but in the Bannat of Temeſwar, and ſeveral of the countries adjacent. In carrying on theſe operations, he often differed in ſentiments from Caſtaldo and his officers, and treated the Turkiſh priſoners with a degree not only of humanity, but even of generoſity, which Caſtaldo loudly condemned. This was repreſented at Vienna as an artful method of courting the friendſhip of the infidels, that, by ſecuring their protection, he might ſhake off all dependence upon the ſovereign whom he now acknowledged. Though Martinuzzi, in juſtification of his own conduct, contended that it was impolitic by unneceſſary ſeverities to exaſperate an enemy prone to revenge, Caſtaldo's accuſations gained credit with Ferdinand, pre-poſſeſſed already againſt Martinuzzi, and jealous of every thing that could endanger his own authority in Hungary, in proportion as he knew it to be precarious and ill-eſtabliſhed. Theſe ſuſpicions Caſtaldo confirmed and ſtrengthened, by the intelligence which he tranſmitted continually to his confidents at Vienna. By miſrepreſenting what was innocent, and putting the worſt conſtruction on what ſeemed dubious in Martinuzzi's conduct; by imputing to him deſigns which he never formed, and charging him with actions of which he was not guilty; he at laſt convinced Ferdinand, that, in or-

der to preserve his Hungarian crown, he must cut off that ambitious prelate. But Ferdinand, foreseeing that it would be dangerous to proceed in the regular course of law against a subject of such exorbitant power as might enable him to set his sovereign at defiance, determined to employ violence in order to obtain that satisfaction which the laws were too feeble to afford him.

He issued his orders accordingly to Castaldo, who willingly undertook that infamous service. Having communicated the design to some Italian and Spanish officers whom he could trust, and concerted with them the plan of executing it, they entered Martinuzzi's apartment, early one morning [Dec. 18], under pretence of presenting to him some dispatches which were to be sent off immediately to Vienna; and while he perused a paper with attention, one of their number struck him with his poignard in the throat. The blow was not mortal. Martinuzzi started up with the intrepidity natural to him, and grappling the assassin, threw him to the ground. But the other conspirators rushing in, an old man, unarmed, and alone, was unable long to sustain such an unequal conflict, and sunk under the wounds which he received from so many hands. The Transylvanians were restrained by dread of the foreign troops stationed in their country, from rising in arms; in order to take vengeance on the murderers of a prelate who had long been the object of their love as well as veneration. They spoke of the deed however, with horror and execration; and exclaimed against Ferdinand, whom neither gratitude for recent and important services, nor reverence for a character considered as sacred and inviolable among Christians, could restrain from shedding the blood of a man, whose only crime was attachment to his native country. The nobles, detesting the jealous as well as cruel policy of a court, which, upon uncertain and improbable surmises, had given up a person, no less conspicuous for his merit than his rank, to be butchered by assassins, either retired to their own estates, or if they continued

with the Auſtrian army, grew cold to the ſervice. The Turks, encouraged by the death of an enemy whoſe abilities they knew and dreaded, prepared to renew hoſtilities early in the ſpring; and inſtead of the ſecurity which Ferdinand had expected from the removal of Martinuzzi, it was evident that his territories in Hungary were about to be attacked with greater vigour, and defended with leſs zeal, than ever†.

By this time, Maurice having almoſt finiſhed his intrigues and preparations, was on the point of declaring his intentions openly, and of taking the field againſt the emperor. His firſt care, after he came to this reſolution, was to diſclaim that narrow and bigotted maxim of the confederates of Smalkalde, which had led them to ſhun all connexion with foreigners. He had obſerved how fatal this had been to their cauſe; and, inſtructed by their error, he was as eager to court the protection of Henry II. as they had been ſolicitous to prevent the interpoſition of Francis I. Happily for him, he found Henry in a diſpoſition to liſten to the firſt overture on his part, and in a ſituation which enabled him to bring the whole force of the French monarchy into action. Henry had long obſerved the progreſs of the emperor's arms with jealouſy, and wiſhed to diſtinguiſh himſelf by entering the liſts againſt the ſame enemy, whom it had been the glory of his father's reign to oppoſe. He had laid hold on the firſt opportunity in his power of thwarting the emperor's deſigns, by taking the duke of Parma under his protection; and hoſtilities were already begun, not only in that dutchy but in Piedmont. Having terminated the war with England by a peace, no leſs advantageous to himſelf than honourable for his allies the Scots, the reſtleſs and enterpriſing courage of his nobles was impatient to diſplay

† Sleid. 535. Thuan. lib. ix. 309, &c. Iſtuanhaffii Hiſt. Regn. Hungarici, lib. xvi. 189, &c. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 871. Natalis Comitis Hiſtoria, lib. iv. 84, &c.

itſelf on ſome theatre of action more conſpicuous than the petty operations in Parma or Piedmont afforded them.

John de Fienne, biſhop of Bayonne, whom Henry had ſent into Germany, under pretence of hiring troops to be employed in Italy, was empowered to conclude a treaty in form with Maurice and his aſſociates. As it would have been very indecent in a king of France to have undertaken the defence of the proteſtant church, the intereſts of religion, how much ſoever they might be affected by the treaty, were not once mentioned in any of the articles. Religious concerns, they pretended to commit entirely to the diſpoſition of Divine Providence; the only motives aſſigned for their preſent confederacy againſt Charles, were to procure the landgrave liberty, and to prevent the ſubverſion of the ancient conſtitution and laws of the German empire. In order to accompliſh theſe ends, it was agreed, that all the contracting parties ſhould, at the ſame time, declare war againſt the emperor; that neither peace nor truce ſhould be made but by common conſent, nor without including each of the confederates; that, in order to guard againſt the inconveniencies of anarchy, or of pretenſions to joint command, Maurice ſhould be acknowledged as head of the German confederates, with abſolute authority in all military affairs; that Maurice and his aſſociates ſhould bring into the field ſeven thouſand horſe, with a proportional number of infantry; that, towards the ſubſiſtence of this army, during the three firſt months of the war, Henry ſhould contribute two hundred and forty thouſand crowns, and afterwards ſixty thouſand crowns a-month, as long as they continued in arms; that Henry ſhould attack the emperor on the ſide of Lorrain with a powerful army; that if it were found requiſite to elect a new emperor, ſuch a perſon ſhould be nominated as ſhall be agreeable to the king of France †. This treaty was concluded on the fifth of October, ſome time before Magdeburg ſurrendered, and the preparatory negotiations

† Recueil des Traitez, tom. ii. 258. Thuan. lib. viii. 279.

were conducted with ſuch profound ſecrecy, that, of all the princes who afterwards acceded to it, Maurice communicated what he was carrying on to two only, John Albert, the reigning duke of Mecklenburg, and William of Heſſe, the landgrave's eldeſt ſon. The league itſelf was no leſs anxiouſly concealed, and with ſuch fortunate care, that no rumour concerning it reached the ears of the emperor or his miniſters; nor do they ſeem to have conceived the moſt diſtant ſuſpicion of ſuch a tranſaction.

At the ſame time, with a ſolicitude which was careful to draw ſome acceſſion of ſtrength from every quarter, Maurice applied to Edward VI. of England, and requeſted a ſubſidy of four hundred thouſand crowns for the ſupport of a confederacy formed in defence of the proteſtant religion. But the factions which prevailed in the Engliſh court during the minority of that prince, and which deprived both the councils and arms of the nation of their wonted vigour, left the Engliſh miniſters neither time nor inclination to attend to foreign affairs, and prevented Maurice's obtaining that aid, which their zeal for the reformation would have prompted them to grant him ‡.

Maurice, however, having ſecured the protection of ſuch a powerful monarch as Henry II. proceeded with great confidence, but with equal caution, to execute his plan. As he judged it neceſſary to make one effort more, in order to obtain the emperor's conſent that the landgrave ſhould be ſet at liberty, he ſent a ſolemn embaſſy, in his own name and in that of the elector of Brandenburg, to Inſpruck [Decem.] After reſuming, at great length, all the facts and arguments upon which they founded their claim, and repreſenting, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the peculiar engagements which bound them to be ſo aſſiduous in their ſolicitations, they renewed their requeſt in behalf of the unfortunate priſoner, which they had ſo often preferred in vain. The elector palatine, the duke of Wurtemberg, the dukes

‡ Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. vol. ii. Append. 37.

of Mecklenburg, the duke of Deux-Ponts, the marquis of Brandenburg Bareith, and the marquis of Baden, by their ambaſſadors, concurred with them in their ſuit. Letters were likewiſe delivered to the ſame effect from the king of Denmark, the duke of Bavaria, and the dukes of Lunenburg. Even the king of the Romans joined in this application, being moved with compaſſion towards the landgrave in his wretched ſituation, or influenced, perhaps, by a ſecret jealouſy of his brother's power and deſigns, which, ſince his attempt to alter the order of ſucceſſion in the empire, he had come to view with other eyes than formerly, and dreaded to a great degree.

But Charles conſtant to his own ſyſtem with regard to the landgrave, eluded a demand urged by ſuch powerful interceſſors; and having declared that he would communicate his reſolution concerning the matter to Maurice as ſoon as he arrived at Inſpruck, where he was every day expected, he did not deign to deſcend into any more particular explication of his intentions *. This application, though of no benefit to the landgrave, was of great advantage to Maurice. It ſerved to juſtify his ſubſequent proceedings, and to demonſtrate the neceſſity of employing arms in order to extort that equitable conceſſion, which his mediation or intreaty could not obtain. It was of uſe, too, to confirm the emperor in his ſecurity, as both the ſolemnity of the application, and the ſolicitude with which ſo many princes were drawn in to enforce it, led him to conclude that they placed all their hopes of reſtoring the landgrave to liberty, in gaining his conſent to diſmiſs him.

1552.] Maurice employed artifices ſtill more refined to conceal his machinations, to amuſe the emperor, and to gain time. He affected to be more ſolicitous than ever to find out ſome expedient for removing the difficulties with regard to the ſafe-conduct for the proteſtant divines appointed to attend the council, ſo that they might repair thither with-

* Sleid. 531. Thuan. lib. viii. 280.

out any apprehenſion of danger. His ambaſſadors at Trent had frequent conferences concerning this matter with the Imperial ambaſſadors in that city, and laid open their ſentiments to them with the appearance of the moſt unreſerved confidence. He was willing, at laſt, to have it believed, that he thought all differences with reſpect to this preliminary article were on the point of being adjuſted; and in order to give credit to this opinion, he commanded Melancthon, together with his brethren, to ſet out on their journey to Trent. At the ſame time, he held a cloſe correſpondence with the Imperial court at Inſpruck, and renewed on every occaſion his profeſſions not only of fidelity but of attachment to the emperor. He talked continually of his intention of going to Inſpruck in perſon; he gave orders to hire a houſe for him in that city, and to fit it up with the greateſt diſpatch for his reception§.

But profoundly ſkilled as Maurice was in the arts of deceit, and impenetrable as he thought the veil to be, under which he concealed his deſigns, there were ſeveral things in his conduct which alarmed the emperor amidſt his ſecurity, and tempted him frequently to ſuſpect that he was meditating ſomething extraordinary. As theſe ſuſpicions took their riſe from circumſtances inconſiderable in themſelves, or of an ambiguous as well as uncertain nature, they were more than counterbalanced by Maurice's addreſs; and the emperor would not, lightly, give up his confidence in a man, whom he had once truſted and loaded with favours. One particular alone ſeemed to be of ſuch conſequence, that he thought it neceſſary to demand an explanation with regard to it. The troops, which George of Mecklenburg had taken into pay after the capitulation of Magdeburg, having fixed their quarters in Thuringia, lived at diſcretion on the lands of the rich eccleſiaſtics in their neighbourhood. Their licence and rapaciouſneſs were intolerable. Such as felt or dreaded their exactions, complained loudly to the emperor, and repreſent-

§ Arnoldi vita Maurit. ap. Menken, ii. 1229.

ed them as a body of men kept in readineſs for ſome deſperate enterpriſe. But Maurice, partly by extenuating the enormities of which they had been guilty, partly by repreſenting the impoſſibility of diſbanding theſe troops, or of keeping them to regular diſcipline, unleſs the arrears ſtill due to them by the emperor were paid, either removed the apprehenſions which this had occaſioned, or, as Charles was not in a condition to ſatisfy the demands of theſe ſoldiers, obliged him to be ſilent with regard to the matter†.

The time of action was now approaching. Maurice had privately diſpatched Albert of Brandenburg to Paris, in order to confirm his league with Henry, and to haſten the march of the French army. He had taken meaſures to bring his own ſubjects together on the firſt ſummons; he had provided for the ſecurity of Saxony, while he ſhould be abſent with the army; and he held the troops in Thuringia, on which he chiefly depended, ready to advance on a moment's warning. All theſe complicated operations were carried on without being diſcovered by the court at Inſpruck, and the emperor remained there in perfect tranquillity, buſied entirely in counteracting the intrigues of the pope's legate at Trent, and in ſettling the conditions on which the proteſtant divines ſhould be admitted into the council, as if there had not been any tranſaction of greater moment in agitation.

This credulous ſecurity in a prince, who, by his ſagacity in obſerving the conduct of all around him, was commonly led to an exceſs of diſtruſt, may ſeem unaccountable, and has been imputed to infatuation. But beſides the exquiſite addreſs with which Maurice concealed his intentions, two circumſtances contributed to the deluſion. The gout had returned upon Charles ſoon after his arrival at Inſpruck, with an increaſe of violence; and his conſtitution being broken by ſuch frequent attacks, he was ſeldom able to exert his natural vigour of mind, or to conſider affairs with his uſual vigilance and penetration; and Granvelle, biſhop of Arras, his

† Sleid. 549. Thuan. 339.

prime minister, though one of the most subtle statesmen of that or perhaps of any age, was on this occasion the dupe of his craft. He entertained such an high opinion of his own abilities, and held the political talents of the Germans in such contempt, that he despised all the intimations given him concerning Maurice's secret machinations, or the dangerous designs which he was carrying on. When the duke of Alva, whose dark suspicious mind harboured many doubts concerning the elector's sincerity, proposed calling him immediately to court to answer for his conduct, Granvelle replied with great scorn, That these apprehensions were groundless, and that a drunken German head was too gross to form any scheme which he could not easily penetrate and baffle. Nor did he assume this peremptory tone merely from confidence in his own discernment; he had bribed two of Maurice's ministers, and received from them frequent and minute information concerning all their master's motions. But through this very channel, by which he expected to gain access to all Maurice's counsels, and even to his thoughts, such intelligence was conveyed to him as completed his deception. Maurice fortunately discovered the correspondence of the two traitors with Granvelle, but instead of punishing them for their crime, he dexterously availed himself of their fraud, and turned his own arts against the bishop. He affected to treat these ministers with greater confidence than ever; he admitted them to his consultations; he seemed to lay open his heart to them; and taking care all the while to let them be acquainted with nothing but what was his interest should be known, they transmitted to Inspruck such accounts as possessed Granvelle with a firm belief of his sincerity as well as good intentions*. The emperor himself, in the fulness of security, was so little moved by a memorial, in name of the ecclesiastical electors, admonishing him to be on his guard against Maurice, that he made light of this intelligence; and his answer to them

* Melvil's Memoirs, fol. edit. p. 12.

abounds with declarations of his entire and confident reliance on the fidelity as well as attachment of that prince‡.

At laſt Maurice's preparations were completed, and he had the ſatisfaction to find that his intrigues and deſigns were ſtill unknown. But, though now ready to take the field, he did not lay aſide the arts which he had hitherto employed; and by one piece of craft more, he deceived his enemies a few days longer. He gave out, that he was about to begin that journey to Inſpruck of which he had ſo often talked, and he took one of the miniſters whom Granvelle had bribed, to attend him thither. After travelling poſt a few ſtages, he pretended to be indiſpoſed by the fatigue of the journey, and diſpatching the ſuſpected miniſters to make his apology to the emperor for this delay, and to aſſure him that he would be at Inſpruck within a few days; he mounted on horſeback, as ſoon as this ſpy on his actions was gone, rode full ſpeed towards Thuringia, joined his army, which amounted to twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, and put it immediately in motion [March 18] *.

At the ſame time he publiſhed a manifeſto containing his reaſons for taking arms. Theſe were three in number: that he might ſecure the proteſtant religion, which was threatened with immediate deſtruction; that he might maintain the conſtitution and laws of the empire, and ſave Germany from being ſubjected to the dominion of an abſolute monarch; that he might deliver the landgrave of Heſſe from the miſeries of a long and unjuſt impriſonment. By the firſt, he rouſed all the favourers of the reformation, a party formidable by their zeal as well as numbers, and rendered deſperate

‡ Sleid. 535.

* Melv. Mem. p. 13. Theſe circumſtances concerning the Saxon miniſters whom Granvelle had bribed, are not mentioned by the German hiſtorians; but as Sir James Melvil received his information from the elector Palatine, and as they are perfectly agreeable to the reſt of Maurice's conduct, they may be conſidered as authentic.

by oppreffion. By the fecond, he interefted all the friends of liberty, catholics no lefs than proteftants, and made it their intereft to unite with him in afferting the rights and privileges common to both. The third, befides the glory which he acquired by his zeal to fulfil his engagements to the unhappy prifoner, was become a caufe of general concern, not only from the compaffion which the landgrave's fufferings excited, but from indignation at the injuftice and rigour of the emperor's proceedings againft him. Together with Maurice's manifefto, another appeared in the name of Albert marquis of Brandenburg Culmbach, who had joined him with a body of adventurers whom he had drawn together. The fame grievances which Maurice had pointed out are mentioned in it, but with an excefs of virulence and animofity fuitable to the character of the prince in whofe name it was publifhed.

The king of France added to thefe a manifefto in his own name; in which, after taking notice of the ancient alliance between the French and German nations, both defcended from the fame anceftors; and after mentioning the applications which, in confequence of this, fome of the moft illuftrious among the German princes had made to him for his protection; he declared, that he now took arms to re-eftablifh the ancient conftitution of the empire, to deliver fome of its princes from captivity, and to fecure the privileges and independence of all the members of the Germanic body. In this manifefto, Henry affumed the extraordinary title of *Protector of the Liberties of Germany and of its captive Princes;* and there was engraved on it a cap, the ancient fymbol of freedom, placed between two daggers, in order to intimate to the Germans, that this bleffing was to be acquired and fecured by force of arms†.

Maurice had now to act a part entirely new; but his flexible genius was capable of accommodating itfelf to every fituation. The moment he took arms, he was as bold and

† Sleid. 549. Thuan. lib. x. 339. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 371.

enterpriſing in the field, as he had been cautious and crafty in the cabinet. He advanced by rapid marches towards the Upper Germany. All the towns in his way opened their gates to him. He reinſtated the magiſtrates whom the emperor had depoſed, and gave poſſeſſion of the churches to the proteſtant miniſters whom he had ejected. He directed his march to Augſburg, and as the Imperial garriſon, which was too inconſiderable to think of defending it, retired immediately, he took poſſeſſion of that great city [April 1,] and made the ſame changes there as in the towns through which he had paſſed†.

No words can expreſs the emperor's aſtoniſhment and conſternation at events ſo unexpected. He ſaw a great number of the German princes in arms againſt him, and the reſt either ready to join them, or wiſhing ſucceſs to their enterpriſe. He beheld a powerful monarch united with them in cloſe league, ſeconding their operations in perſon at the head of a formidable army, while he, through negligence and credulity, which expoſed him no leſs to ſcorn than to danger, had neither made, nor was in a condition to make, any effectual proviſion, either for cruſhing his rebellious ſubjects, or reſiſting the invaſion of the foreign enemy. Part of his Spaniſh troops had been ordered into Hungary againſt the Turks; the reſt had marched back to Italy upon occaſion of the war in the dutchy of Parma. The bands of veteran Germans had been diſmiſſed, becauſe he was not able to pay them; or had entered into Maurice's ſervice after the ſiege of Magdeburg; and he remained at Inſpruck with a body of ſoldiers hardly ſtrong enough to guard his own perſon. His treaſury was as much exhauſted, as his army was reduced. He had received no remittances for ſome time from the new world. He had forfeited all credit with the merchants of Genoa and Venice, who refuſed to lend him money, though tempted by the offer of exorbitant intereſt. Thus Charles, though undoubtedly the moſt conſide-

† Sleid. 555. Thuan. 342.

rable potentate in Chriſtendom, and capable of exerting the greateſt ſtrength, his power, notwithſtanding the violent attack made upon it, being ſtill unimpaired, found himſelf in a ſituation which rendered him unable to make ſuch a ſudden and vigorous effort as the juncture required, and was neceſſary to have ſaved him from the preſent danger.

In this ſituation, the emperor placed all his hopes upon negotiating; the only reſource of ſuch as are conſcious of their own weakneſs. But thinking it inconſiſtent with his dignity to make the firſt advances to ſubjects who were in arms againſt him, he avoided that indecorum by employing the mediation of his brother Ferdinand. Maurice confiding in his own talents to conduct any negotiation in ſuch a manner as to derive advantage from it, and hoping that, by the appearance of facility in hearkening to the firſt overture of accommodation, he might amuſe the emperor, and tempt him to ſlacken the activity with which he was now preparing to defend himſelf, readily agreed to an interview with Ferdinand in the town of Lintz in Auſtria; and having left his army to proceed on its march under the command of the duke of Mecklenburg, he repaired thither.

Meanwhile the king of France punctually fulfilled his engagements to the allies. He took the field early, with a numerous and well-appointed army, and marching directly into Lorain, Toul and Verdun opened their gates at his approach. His forces appeared next before Metz, and that city, by a fraudulent ſtratagem of the conſtable Montmorency, who having obtained permiſſion to paſs through it with a ſmall guard, introduced as many troops as were ſufficient to overpower the garriſon, was likewiſe ſeized without bloodſhed. Henry made his entry into all theſe towns with great pomp; he obliged the inhabitants to ſwear allegiance to him, and annexed thoſe important conqueſts to the French monarchy. He left a ſtrong garriſon in Metz. From thence he advanced towards Alſace, in order to at-

tempt new conqueſts, to which the ſucceſs that had hitherto attended his arms invited him*.

The conference at Lintz did not produce an accommodation. Maurice, when he conſented to it, ſeems to have had nothing in view but to amuſe the emperor; for he made ſuch demands, both in behalf of his confederates and their ally the French king, as he knew would not be accepted by a prince, too haughty to ſubmit, at once, to conditions dictated by an enemy. But, however firmly Maurice adhered during the negotiation to the intereſt of his aſſociates, or how ſteadily ſoever he kept in view the objects which had induced him to take arms, he often profeſſed a ſtrong inclination to terminate the differences with the emperor in an amicable manner. Encouraged by this appearance of a pacific diſpoſition, Ferdinand propoſed a ſecond interview at Paſſau on the twenty ſixth of May, and that a truce ſhould commence on that day, and continue to the tenth of June, in order to give them leiſure for adjuſting all the points in diſpute.

Upon this, Maurice rejoined his army on the ninth of May, which had now advanced to Gundelfingen. He put his troops in motion next morning; and as ſixteen days yet remained for action before the commencement of the truce, he reſolved, during that period, to venture upon an enterpriſe, the ſucceſs of which would be ſo deciſive, as to render the negotiations at Paſſau extremely ſhort, and entitle him to treat upon his own terms. He foreſaw that the proſpect of a ceſſation of arms, which was to take place ſo ſoon, together with the opinion of his earneſtneſs to re-eſtabliſh peace, with which he had artfully amuſed Ferdinand, could hardly fail of inſpiring the emperor with ſuch falſe hopes, that he would naturally become remiſs, and relapſe into ſome degree of that ſecurity which had already been ſo fatal to him. Relying on this conjecture, he marched directly at the head of his army towards Inſpruck, and advanced

* Thuan. 349.

with the moſt rapid motion that could be given to ſo great a body of troops. On the eighteenth, he arrived at Fieſſen, a poſt of great conſequence, at the entrance into the Tyroleſe. There he found a body of eight hundred men, whom the emperor had aſſembled, ſtrongly intrenched, in order to oppoſe his progreſs. He attacked them inſtantly with ſuch violence and impetuoſity, that they abandoned their lines precipitately, and, falling back on a ſecond body poſted near Ruten, communicated the panic terror with which they themſelves had been ſeized, to thoſe troops; ſo that they likewiſe took to flight, after a feeble reſiſtance.

Elated with this ſucceſs, which exceeded his moſt ſanguine hopes, Maurice preſſed forward to Ehrenbergh, a caſtle ſituated on an high and ſteep precipice, which commanded the only paſs through the mountains. As this fort had been ſurrendered to the proteſtants at the beginning of the Smalkaldic war, becauſe the garriſon was then too weak to defend it, the emperor, ſenſible of its importance, had taken care, at this juncture, to throw into it a body of troops ſufficient to maintain it againſt the greateſt army. But a ſhepherd, in purſuing a goat which had ſtrayed from his flock, having diſcovered an unknown path by which it was poſſible to aſcend to the top of the rock, came with this ſeaſonable piece of intelligence to Maurice. A ſmall band of choſen ſoldiers, under the command of George of Mecklenburg, was inſtantly ordered to follow this guide. They ſet out in the evening, and clambering up the rugged track with infinite fatigue as well as danger, they reached the ſummit unperceived; and at an hour which had been agreed on, when Maurice began the aſſault on the one ſide of the caſtle, they appeared on the other, ready to ſcale the walls, which were feeble in that place, becauſe it had been hitherto deemed inacceſſible. The garriſon, ſtruck with terror at the ſight of an enemy on a quarter where they had thought themſelves perfectly ſecure, immediately threw down their arms. Maurice, almoſt without blood-

ſhed, and, which was of greater conſequence to him, without loſs of time, took poſſeſſion of a place, the reduction of which might have retarded him long, and have required the utmoſt efforts of his valour and ſkill†.

Maurice was now only two days march from Inſpruck, and without loſing a moment he ordered his infantry to advance thither, having left his cavalry, which was unserviceable in that mountainous country, at Fieſſen, to guard the mouth of the paſs. He propoſed to advance with ſuch rapidity as to anticipate any accounts of the loſs of Ehrenbergh, and to ſurpriſe the emperor, together with his attendants, in an open town incapable of defence. But juſt as his troops began to move, a battalion of mercenaries mutinied, declaring that they would not ſtir until they had received the gratuity, which, according to the cuſtom of that age, they claimed as the recompence due to them for having taken a place by aſſault. It was with great difficulty, as well as danger, and not without ſome conſiderable loſs of time, that Maurice quieted this inſurrection, and prevailed on the ſoldiers to follow him to a place where he promiſed them ſuch rich booty as would be an ample reward for all their ſervices.

To the delay, occaſioned by this unforeſeen accident, the emperor owed his ſafety. He was informed of the approaching danger late in the evening, and knowing that nothing could ſave him but a ſpeedy flight, he inſtantly left Inſpruck, without regarding the darkneſs of the night, or the violence of the rain which happened to fall at that time; and notwithſtanding the debility occaſioned by the gout, which rendered him unable to bear any motion but that of a litter, he travelled by the light of torches, taking his way over the Alps, by roads almoſt impaſſable. His courtiers and attendants followed him with equal precipitation, ſome of them on ſuch horſes as they could haſtily procure, many of them on foot, and all in the utmoſt confuſion. In this

† Arnoldi vita Maurit. 123.

miſerable plight, very unlike the pomp with which Charles had appeared during the five preceding years as the conqueror of Germany, he arrived at length with his dejected train at Villach in Carinthia, and ſcarcely thought himſelf ſecure even in that remote inacceſſible corner.

Maurice entered Inſpruck a few hours after the emperor and his attendants had left it; and enraged that the prey ſhould eſcape out of his hands when he was juſt ready to ſeize it, he purſued them ſome miles; but finding it impoſſible to overtake perſons, to whom their fear gave ſpeed, he returned to the town, and abandoned all the emperor's baggage, together with that of the miniſters, to be plundered by the ſoldiers; while he preſerved untouched every thing belonging to the king of the Romans, either becauſe he had formed ſome friendly connexion with that prince, or becauſe he wiſhed to have it believed that ſuch a connexion ſubſiſted between them. As there now remained only three days to the commencement of the truce (with ſuch nicety had Maurice calculated his operations), he ſet out for Paſſau, that he might meet Ferdinand on the day appointed.

Before Charles left Inſpruck, he withdrew the guards placed on the degraded elector of Saxony, whom, during five years, he had carried about with him as a priſoner, and ſet him entirely at liberty, either with an intention to embarraſs Maurice by letting looſe a rival, who might diſpute his title to his dominions and dignity, or from a ſenſe of the indecency of detaining him a priſoner, while he himſelf run the riſk of being deprived of his own liberty. But that prince, ſeeing no other way of eſcaping than that which the emperor took, and abhorring the thoughts of falling into the hands of a kinſman, whom he juſtly conſidered as the author of all his misfortunes, choſe rather to accompany Charles in his flight, and to expect the final deciſion of his fate from the treaty which was now approaching.

Theſe were not the only effects which Maurice's opera-

tions produced. It was no ſooner known at Trent that he had taken arms, than a general conſternation ſeized the fathers of the council. The German prelates immediately returned home, that they might provide for the ſafety of their reſpective territories. The reſt were extremely impatient to be gone; and the legate, who had hitherto diſappointed all the endeavours of the Imperial ambaſſadors to procure an audience in the council for the proteſtant divines, laid hold with joy on ſuch a plauſible pretext for diſmiſſing an aſſembly, which he had found it ſo difficult to govern. In a congregation held on the twenty-eighth of April, a decree was iſſued proroguing the council during two years, and appointing it to meet at the expiration of that time, if peace were then re-eſtabliſhed in Europe *. This prorogation, however continued no leſs than ten years; and the proceedings of the council, when re-aſſembled in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-two, fall not within the period preſcribed to this hiſtory.

The convocation of this aſſembly had been paſſionately deſired by all the ſtates and princes in Chriſtendom, who, from the wiſdom as well as piety of prelates repreſenting the whole body of the faithful, expected ſome charitable and efficacious endeavours towards compoſing the diſſenſions which unhappily had ariſen in the church. But the ſeveral popes by whoſe authority it was called, had other objects in view. They exerted all their power or policy to attain theſe; and by the abilities as well as addreſs of their legates, by the ignorance of many of the prelates, and by the ſervility of the indigent Italian biſhops, acquired ſuch influence in the council, that they dictated all its decrees, and framed them not with an intention to reſtore unity and concord to the church, but to eſtabliſh their own dominion, or to confirm thoſe tenets, upon which they imagined that dominion to be founded. Doctrines which had hitherto been admitted upon the credit of tradition alone, and received with

* F. Paul, 353.

ſome latitude of interpretation, were defined with a ſcrupulous nicety, and confirmed by the ſanction of authority. Rites, which had formerly been obſerved only in deference to cuſtom ſuppoſed to be ancient, were eſtabliſhed by the decrees of the church, and declared to be eſſential parts of its worſhip. The breach, inſtead of being cloſed, was widened, and made irreparable. In place of any attempt to reconcile the contending parties, a line was drawn with ſuch ſtudied accuracy, as aſcertained and marked out the diſtinction between them. This ſtill ſerves to keep them at a diſtance; and without ſome ſignal interpoſition of Divine Providence, muſt render the ſeparation perpetual.

Our knowledge of the proceedings of this aſſembly, is derived from three different authors. Father Paul of Venice wrote his hiſtory of the council of Trent, while the memory of what had paſſed there was recent, and ſome who had been members of it were ſtill alive. He has expoſed the intrigues and artifices by which it was conducted, with a freedom and ſeverity which have given a deep wound to the credit of the council. He has deſcribed its deliberations, and explained its decrees, with ſuch perſpicuity and depth of thought, with ſuch various erudition and ſuch force of reaſon, as have juſtly entitled his work to be placed among the moſt admired hiſtorical compoſitions. About half a century thereafter, the Jeſuit Pallavicini publiſhed his hiſtory of the council, in oppoſition to that of Father Paul, and by employing all the force of an acute and refining genius to invalidate the credit, or to confute the reaſonings of his antagoniſt, he labours to prove, by artful apologies for the proceedings of the council, and ſubtile interpretations of its decrees, that it deliberated with impartiality, and decided with judgment as well as candour. Vargas, a Spaniſh doctor of laws, who was appointed to attend the Imperial ambaſſadors at Trent, ſent the biſhop of Arras a regular account of the tranſactions there, explaining all the arts which the legate employed to influence or overawe the council. His letters

have been publiſhed, in which he inveighs againſt the papal court with that aſperity of cenſure, which was natural to a man whoſe ſituation enabled him to obſerve its intrigues thoroughly, and who was obliged to exert all his attention and talents in order to diſappoint them. But whichſoever of theſe authors an intelligent perſon takes for his guide, in forming a judgment concerning the ſpirit of the council, he muſt diſcover ſo much ambition as well as artifice among ſome of the members; ſo much ignorance and corruption among others; he muſt obſerve ſuch a large infuſion of human policy and paſſions, mingled with ſuch a ſcanty portion of that ſimplicity of heart, ſanctity of manners, and love of truth, which alone qualify men to determine what doctrines are worthy of God, and what worſhip is acceptable to him; that he will find it no eaſy matter to believe, that any extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghoſt hovered over this aſſembly, and dictated its decrees.

While Maurice was employed in negotiating with the king of the Romans at Lintz, or in making war on the emperor in the Tyrol, the French king had advanced into Alſace as far as Straſburg; and having demanded leave of the ſenate to march through the city, he hoped that, by repeating the ſame fraud which he had practiſed at Metz, he might render himſelf maſter of the place, and by that means ſecure a paſſage over the Rhine into the heart of Germany. But the Straſburghers, inſtructed and put on their guard by the credulity and misfortune of their neighbours, ſhut their gates; and having aſſembled a garriſon of five thouſand ſoldiers, repaired their fortifications, raſed the houſes in their ſuburbs, and determined to defend themſelves to the utmoſt. At the ſame time they ſent a deputation of their moſt reſpectable citizens to the king, in order to divert him from making any hoſtile attempt upon them. The electors of Treves and Cologne, the duke of Cleves, and other princes in the neighbourhood, interpoſed in their behalf; beſeeching Henry that he would not forget ſo ſoon the title which he had gene-

roufly affumed; and inftead of being the deliverer of Germany, become its oppreffor. The Swifs Cantons feconded them with zeal, foliciting Henry to fpare a city which had long been connected with their community in friendfhip and alliance.

Powerful as this united interceffion was, it would not have prevailed on Henry to forego a prize of fo much value, if he had been in a condition to have feized it. But, in that age, the method of fubfifting numerous armies at a diftance from the frontiers of their own country, was imperfectly underftood, and neither the revenues of princes, nor their experience in the art of war, were equal to the great and complicated efforts which fuch an undertaking required. The French, though not far removed from their own frontier, began already to fuffer from fcarcity of provifions, and had no fufficient magazines collected to fupport them during a fiege which muft neceffarily have been of great length§. At the fame time, the queen of Hungary, governefs of the Low-Countries, had affembled a confiderable body of troops, which, under the command of Martin de Roffem, laid wafte Champagne, and threatened the adjacent provinces of France. Thefe concurring circumftances obliged the king, though with reluctance, to abandon the enterprife. But being willing to acquire fome merit with his allies, by this retreat which he could not avoid, he pretended to the Swifs that he had taken the refolution merely in compliance with their requeft*; and then, after giving orders that all the horfes in his army fhould be led to drink in the Rhine, as a proof of his having pufhed his conqueft fo far, he marched back towards Champagne.

While the French king and the main army of the confederates were thus employed, Albert of Brandenburg was entrufted with the command of a feparate body of eight thoufand men, confifting chiefly of mercenaries who had reforted

§ Thuan. 351, 352.
* Sleid. 557. Brantome, tom. vii. 39.

to his ſtandard, rather from the hope of plunder, than the expectation of regular pay. That prince, ſeeing himſelf at the head of ſuch a number of deſperate adventurers, ready to follow wherever he ſhould lead them, ſoon began to diſdain a ſtate of ſubordination, and to form ſuch extravagant ſchemes of aggrandizing himſelf, as ſeldom occur, even to ambitious minds, unleſs when civil war or violent factions rouſe them to bold exertions, by alluring them with immediate hopes of ſucceſs. Full of theſe aſpiring thoughts, Albert made war in a manner very different from the other confederates. He endeavoured to ſpread the terror of his arms by the rapidity of his motions, as well as the extent and rigour of his devaſtations; he exacted contributions wherever he came, in order to amaſs ſuch a ſum of money, as would put it in his power to keep his army together; he laboured to get poſſeſſion of Nuremburg, Ulm, or ſome other of the free cities in Upper Germany, in which, as a capital, he might fix the ſeat of his power. But, finding theſe cities on their guard, and in a condition to reſiſt his attacks, he turned all his rage againſt the popiſh eccleſiaſtics, whoſe territories he plundered with ſuch wanton and merciless barbarity, as gave them a very unfavourable impreſſion of the ſpirit of that reformation in religion, with zeal for which he pretended to be animated. The biſhops of Bambergh and Wurzburgh, by their ſituation, lay particularly expoſed to his ravages; he obliged the former to transfer to him, in property, almoſt one half of his extenſive dioceſe; and compelled the latter to advance a great ſum of money in order to ſave his territories from ruin and deſolation. During all thoſe wild ſallies, Albert paid no regard either to Maurice's orders, whoſe commands as generaliſſimo of the league he had engaged to obey, or to the remonſtrances of the other confederates; and manifeſtly diſcovered, that he attended only to his own private emolument, without any ſolicitude about the common cauſe, or the general objects which had induced them to take arms †.

† Sleid. 561. Thuan. 357.

Maurice having ordered his army to march back into Bavaria, and having published a proclamation enjoining the Lutheran clergy and instructors of youth, to resume the exercise of their functions, in all the cities, schools, and universities from which they had been ejected, met Ferdinand at Passau on the twenty sixth day of May. As matters of the greatest consequence to the future peace and independence of the empire were to be settled in this congress, the eyes of all Germany were fixed upon it. Besides Ferdinand and the Imperial ambassadors, the duke of Bavaria, the bishops of Saltzburg and Aichstadt, the ministers of all the electors, together with deputies from most of the considerable princes and free cities, resorted to Passau. Maurice, in the name of his associates, and the king of the Romans as the emperor's representative, opened the negotiation. The princes who were present, together with the deputies of such as were absent, acted as intercessors or mediators between them.

Maurice, in a long discourse, explained the motives of his own conduct. After having enumerated all the unconstitutional and oppressive acts of the emperor's administration, he, agreeably to the manifesto which he had published when he took arms against him, limited his demands to three articles: That the landgrave of Hesse should be immediately set at liberty; that the grievances in the civil government of the empire should be redressed; and that the protestants should be allowed the public exercise of their religion without molestation. Ferdinand and the Imperial ambassadors discovering their unwillingness to gratify him with regard to all these points, the mediators wrote a joint letter to the emperor, beseeching him to deliver Germany from the calamities of a civil war, by giving such satisfaction to Maurice and his party as might induce them to lay down their arms; and at the same time they prevailed upon Maurice to grant a prolongation of the truce for a short time, during which

they undertook to procure the emperor's final anſwer to his demands.

This requeſt was preſented to the emperor in the name of all the princes of the empire, popiſh as well as proteſtant, in the name of ſuch as had lent an helping hand to forward his ambitious ſchemes, as well as of thoſe who had viewed the progreſs of his power with jealouſy and dread. The uncommon and cordial unanimity with which they concurred at this juncture in enforcing Maurice's demands, and in recommending peace, flowed from different cauſes. Such as were moſt attached to the Roman catholic church could not help obſerving, that the proteſtant confederates were at the head of a numerous army, while the emperor was but juſt beginning to provide for his own defence. They foreſaw that great efforts would be required of them, and would be neceſſary on their part, in order to cope with enemies, who had been allowed to get the ſtart ſo far, and to attain ſuch formidable power. Experience had taught them, that the fruit of all theſe efforts would be reaped by the emperor alone, and the more complete any victory proved which they ſhould gain, the faſter would they bind their own fetters, and render them the more intolerable. Theſe reflections made them cautious how they contributed a ſecond time, by their indiſcreet zeal, to put the emperor in poſſeſſion of power which would be fatal to the liberties of their country. Notwithſtanding the intolerant ſpirit of bigotry in that age, they choſe rather that the proteſtants ſhould acquire that ſecurity for their religion which they demanded, than by aſſiſting Charles to oppreſs them, to give ſuch additional force to the Imperial prerogative, as would overturn the conſtitution of the empire. To all theſe conſiderations, the dread of ſeeing Germany laid waſte by a civil war added new force. Many ſtates of the empire already felt the deſtructive rage of Albert's arms, others dreaded it, and all wiſhed for an accommodation between the emperor and Maurice, which they hoped would ſave them from that cruel ſcourge.

Such were the reaſons that induced ſo many princes, notwithſtanding the variety of their political intereſts, and the oppoſition in their religious ſentiments, to unite in recommending to the emperor an accommodation with Maurice, not only as a ſalutary, but as a neceſſary meaſure. The motives which prompted Charles to deſire it, were not fewer or of leſs weight. He was perfectly ſenſible of the ſuperiority which the confederates had acquired through his own negligence; and he now felt the inſufficiency of his own reſources to oppoſe them. His Spaniſh ſubjects, diſguſted at his long abſence, and weary of endleſs wars, which were of little benefit to their country, refuſed to furniſh him any conſiderable ſupply either of men or money; and although by his addreſs or importunity he might have hoped to draw from them at laſt more effectual aid; that, he knew, was too diſtant to be of any ſervice in the preſent exigency of his affairs. His treaſury was drained; his veteran forces were diſperſed or diſbanded, and he could not depend much either on the fidelity or courage of the new levied ſoldiers whom he was collecting. There was no hope of repeating with ſucceſs the ſame artifices which had weakened and ruined the Smalkaldic league. As the end at which he aimed was now known, he could no longer employ the ſpecious pretexts which had formerly concealed his ambitious deſigns. Every prince in Germany was alarmed and on his guard; and it was vain to think of blinding them a ſecond time to ſuch a degree, as to make one part of them inſtruments to enſlave the other. The ſpirit of a confederacy whereof Maurice was the head, experience had taught him to be very different from that of the league of Smalkalde; and from what he had already felt, he had no reaſon to flatter himſelf that its councils would be as irreſolute, or its efforts as timid and feeble. If he ſhould reſolve on continuing the war, he might be aſſured, that the moſt conſiderable ſtates in Germany would take part in it againſt him; and a dubious neutrality was the utmoſt he could expect from the reſt. While the confede-

rates found full employment for his arms in one quarter, the king of France would ſeize the favourable opportunity, and puſh on his operations in another, with almoſt certain ſucceſs. That monarch had already made conqueſts in the empire, which Charles was no leſs eager to recover, than impatient to be revenged on him for aiding his malecontent ſubjects. Though Henry had now retired from the banks of the Rhine, he had only varied the ſcene of hoſtilities, having invaded the Low-Countries with all his forces. The Turks rouſed by the ſolicitations of the French king, as well as ſtimulated by reſentment againſt Ferdinand for having violated the truce in Hungary, had prepared a powerful fleet to ravage the coaſts of Naples and Sicily, which he had left almoſt defenceleſs, by calling thence the greateſt part of the regular troops to join the army which he was now aſſembling.

Ferdinand, who went in perſon to Villach, in order to lay before the emperor the reſult of the conferences at Paſſau, had likewiſe reaſons peculiar to himſelf for deſiring an accommodation. Theſe prompted him to ſecond, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, the arguments which the princes aſſembled there had employed in recommending it. He had obſerved, not without ſecret ſatisfaction, the fatal blow that had been given to the deſpotic power which his brother had uſurped in the empire. He was extremely ſolicitous to prevent Charles from recovering his former ſuperiority, as he foreſaw that ambitious prince would immediately reſume, with increaſed eagerneſs, and with a better chance of ſucceſs, his favourite ſcheme of tranſmitting that power to his ſon, by excluding his brother from the right of ſucceſſion to the Imperial throne. On this account he was willing to contribute towards circumſcribing the Imperial authority, in order to render his own poſſeſſion of it certain. Beſides, Solyman, exaſperated at the loſs of Tranſylvania, and ſtill more at the fraudulent arts by which it had been ſeized, had ordered into the field an army of an hundred thouſand men, which having defeated a great body of Ferdinand's

troops and taken ſeveral places of importance, threatened not only to complete the conqueſt of the province, but to drive them out of that part of Hungary which was ſtill ſubject to his juriſdiction. He was unable to reſiſt ſuch a mighty enemy; the emperor, while engaged in a domeſtic war, could afford him no aid; and he could not even hope to draw from Germany the contingent, either of troops or money, uſually furniſhed to repel the invaſions of the Infidels. Maurice, having obſerved Ferdinand's perplexity with regard to this laſt point, had offered, if peace were re-eſtabliſhed on a ſecure foundation, that he would march in perſon with his troops into Hungary againſt the Turks. Such was the effect of this well-timed propoſal, that Ferdinand, deſtitute of every other proſpect of relief, became the moſt zealous advocate whom the confederates could have employed to urge their claims, and there was hardly any thing that they could have demanded which he would not have choſen to grant, rather than have retarded a pacification, to which he truſted as the only means of ſaving his Hungarian crown.

When ſo many cauſes conſpired in rendering an accommodation eligible, it might have been expected that it would have taken place immediately. But the inflexibility of the emperor's temper, together with his unwillingneſs at once to relinquiſh objects which he had long purſued with ſuch earneſtneſs and aſſiduity, counterbalanced, for ſome time the force of all the motives which diſpoſed him to peace, and not only put that event at a diſtance, but ſeemed to render it uncertain. When Maurice's demands, together with the letter of the mediators at Paſſau, were preſented to him, he peremptorily refuſed to redreſs the grievances which were pointed out, nor would he agree to any ſtipulation for the immediate ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, but propoſed referring both theſe to the determination of a future diet. On his part, he required that inſtant reparation ſhould be made to all who, during the preſent war, had ſuffered either

by the licentiousness of the confederate troops, or the exactions of their leaders.

Maurice, who was well acquainted with the emperor's arts, immediately concluded that he had nothing in view by these overtures but to amuse and deceive; and therefore, without listening to Ferdinand's intreaties, he left Passau abruptly, and joining his troops, which were encamped at Mergentheim, a city in Franconia, belonging to the knights of the Teutonic order, he put them in motion, and renewed hostilities. As three thousand men in the emperor's pay had thrown themselves into Frankfort on the Maine, and might from thence infest the neighbouring country of Hesse, he marched towards that city, and laid siege to it in form [July 17]. The briskness of this enterprise, and the vigour with which Maurice carried on his approaches against the town, gave such an alarm to the emperor, as disposed him to lend a more favourable ear to Ferdinand's arguments in behalf of an accommodation. Firm and haughty as his nature was, he found it necessary to bend, and signified his willingness to make concessions on his part, if Maurice, in return, would abate somewhat of the rigour of his demands. Ferdinand, as soon as he perceived that his brother began to yield, did not desist from his importunities, until he prevailed on him to declare what was the utmost that he would grant for the security of the confederates. Having gained this difficult point, he instantly dispatched a messenger to Maurice's camp, and imparting to him the emperor's final resolution, conjured him not to frustrate his endeavours for the re-establishment of peace; or, by an unseasonable obstinacy on his side, to disappoint the wishes of all Germany for that salutary event.

Maurice notwithstanding the prosperous situation of his affairs, was strongly inclined to listen to this advice. The emperor, though over-reached and surprised, had now begun to assemble troops, and however slow his motions might be, while the first effects of his consternation remained, he

was ſenſible that Charles muſt at laſt act with vigour proportional to the extent of his power and territories, and lead into Germany an army formidable by its numbers, and ſtill more by the terror of his name, as well as the remembrance of his paſt victories. He could ſcarcely hope that a confederacy compoſed of ſo many members would continue to operate with union and perſeverance ſufficient to reſiſt the conſiſtent and well-directed efforts of an army, at the abſolute diſpoſal of a leader accuſtomed to command and to conquer. He felt, already, although he had not hitherto experienced the ſhock of any adverſe event, that he himſelf was at the head of a disjointed body. He ſaw, from the example of Albert of Brandenburg, how difficult it would be, with all his addreſs and credit, to prevent any particular member from detaching himſelf from the whole, and how impoſſible to recal him to his proper rank and ſubordination. This filled him with apprehenſions for the common cauſe. Another conſideration gave him no leſs diſquiet with regard to his own particular intereſts. By ſetting at liberty the degraded elector, and by repealing the act by which that prince was deprived of his hereditary honours and dominions, the emperor had it in his power to wound him in the moſt tender part. The efforts of a prince beloved by his ancient ſubjects, and revered by all the proteſtant party, in order to recover what had been unjuſtly taken from him, could hardly have failed of exciting commotions in Saxony, which would endanger all that he had acquired at the expence of ſo much diſſimulation and artifice. It was no leſs in the emperor's power to render vain all the ſolicitations of the confederates in behalf of the landgrave. He had only to add one act of violence more to the injuſtice and rigour with which he had already treated him; and he had accordingly threatened the ſons of that unfortunate prince, that if they perſiſted in their preſent enterpriſe, inſtead of ſeeing their father reſtored to liberty, they ſhould hear of his having ſuffered the puniſhment which his rebellion had merited*.

* Sleid. 571.

Having deliberated upon all these points with his associates, Maurice thought it more prudent to accept of the conditions offered, though less advantageous than those which he had proposed, than again to commit all to the doubtful issue of war†. He repaired forthwith to Passau, and signed the treaty of peace; of which the chief articles were, That before the twelfth day of August, the confederates shall lay down their arms, and disband their forces; That on or before that day the landgrave shall be set at liberty, and conveyed in safety to his castle of Rheinfels; That a diet shall be held within six months [August 2], in order to deliberate concerning the most proper and effectual method of preventing for the future all disputes and dissensions about religion; That in the mean time, neither the emperor, nor any other prince, shall upon any pretext whatever, offer any injury or violence to such as adhered to the confession of Augsburg, but allow them to enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; That, in return, the protestants shall not molest the catholics either in the exercise of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or in performing their religious ceremonies; That the Imperial chamber shall administer justice impartially to persons of both parties, and protestants be admitted indiscriminately with the catholics to sit as judges in that court; That if the next diet should not be able to terminate the disputes with regard to religion, the stipulations in the present treaty in behalf of the protestants shall continue for ever in full force and vigour; That none of the confederates shall be liable to any action on account of what had happened during the course of the war; That the consideration of those encroachments which had been made, as Maurice pretended, upon the constitution and liberties of the empire*, shall be remitted to the approaching diet; That Albert of Brandenburg shall be com-

† Sleid. Hist. 563, &c. Thuan. lib. x. 359, &c.
* Recueil des Traitez, ii. 261.

prehended in the treaty, provided he ſhall accede to it, and diſband his forces before the twelfth of Auguſt.

Such was the memorable treaty of Paſſau, that overturned the vaſt fabric, in erecting which Charles had employed ſo many years, and had exerted the utmoſt efforts of his power and policy; that annulled all his regulations with regard to religion; defeated all his hopes of rendering the Imperial authority abſolute and hereditary in his family; and eſtabliſhed the proteſtant church, which had hitherto ſubſiſted precariouſly in Germany, through connivance, or by expedients, upon a firm and ſecure baſis. Maurice reaped all the glory of having concerted and completed this unexpected revolution. It is a ſingular circumſtance, that the reformation ſhould be indebted for its ſecurity and full eſtabliſhment in Germany, to the ſame hand which had brought it to the brink of deſtruction, and that both events ſhould have been accompliſhed by the ſame arts of diſſimulation. The ends, however, which Maurice had in view, at thoſe different junctures, ſeem to have been more attended to than the means by which he attained them; and he was now as univerſally extolled for his zeal and public ſpirit as he had lately been condemned for his indifference and intereſted policy. It is no leſs worthy of obſervation, that the French king, a monarch zealous for the catholic faith, ſhould employ his power in order to protect and maintain the reformation in the empire, at the very time when he was perſecuting his own proteſtant ſubjects with all the fierceneſs of bigotry, and that the league for this purpoſe, which proved ſo fatal to the Romiſh church, ſhould be negotiated and ſigned by a Roman catholic biſhop. So wonderfully doth the wiſdom of God ſuperintend and regulate the caprice of human paſſions, and render them ſubſervient towards the accompliſhment of his own purpoſes.

Little attention was paid to the intereſts of the French king during the negotiations at Paſſau. Maurice and his aſſociates, having gained what they had in view, diſcovered

no great ſolicitude about an ally, whom, perhaps, they reckoned to be overpaid for the aſſiſtance which he had given them, by his acquiſitions in Lorrain. A ſhort clauſe which they procured to be inſerted in the treaty, importing that the king of France might communicate to the confederates his particular pretenſions or cauſes of hoſtility, which they would lay before the emperor, was the only ſign that they gave of their remembering how much they had been indebted to him for their ſucceſs. Henry experienced the ſame treatment which every prince who lends his aid to the authors of a civil war may expect. As ſoon as the rage of faction began to ſubſide, and any proſpect of accommodation to open, his ſervices were forgotten, and his aſſociates made a merit with their ſovereign, of the ingratitude with which they abandoned their protector. But how much ſoever Henry might be enraged at the perfidy of his allies, or at the impatience with which they haſtened to make their peace with the emperor, at his expence, he was perfectly ſenſible that it was more his intereſt to keep well with the Germanic body, than to reſent the indignities offered him by any particular members of it. For that reaſon he diſmiſſed the hoſtages which he had received from Maurice and his aſſociates, and affected to talk in the ſame ſtrain as formerly, concerning his zeal for maintaining the ancient conſtitution and liberties of the empire.

BOOK XI.

As ſoon as the treaty of Paſſau was ſigned, Maurice in conſequence of his engagements with Ferdinand, marched into Hungary with twenty thouſand men [Aug. 3.] But the great ſuperiority of the Turkiſh armies, the frequent mutinies both of the Spaniſh and German ſoldiers, occaſioned by their want of pay, together with the diſſenſions between

Maurice and Castaldo, who was piqued at being obliged to resign the chief command to him, prevented his performing any thing in that country suitable to his former fame, or of great benefit to the king of the Romans*.

When Maurice set out for Hungary, the prince of Hesse parted from him with the forces under his command, and marched back into his own country, that he might be ready to receive his father upon his return, and give up to him the reins of government which he had held during his absence. But fortune was not yet weary of persecuting the landgrave. A battalion of mercenary troops, which had been in the pay of Hesse, being seduced by Reifenberg, their colonel, a soldier of fortune, ready to engage in any enterprise, secretly withdrew from the young prince as he was marching homewards, and joined Albert of Brandenburg, who still continued in arms against the emperor, refusing to be included in the treaty of Passau. Unhappily for the landgrave, an account of this reached the Netherlands, just as he was dismissed from the citadel of Mechlin, where he had been confined, but before he had got beyond the frontiers of that country. The queen of Hungary, who governed there in her brother's name, incensed at such an open violation of the treaty to which he owed his liberty, issued orders to arrest him, and committed him again to the custody of the same Spanish captain who had guarded him for five years with the most severe vigilance. Philip beheld all the horrors of his imprisonment renewed, and his spirits subsiding in the same proportion as they had risen during the short interval in which he had enjoyed liberty; he sunk into despair, and believed himself to be doomed to perpetual captivity†. But the matter being so explained to the emperor, as fully satisfied him that the revolt of Reifenberg's mercenaries could be imputed neither to the landgrave nor to his son, he gave orders for his release; and Philip at last ob-

* Istuanhaffii Hist. Hungar. 288. Thuan. lib. x. 371.
† Sleid. 573. Belcarii Comment. 834.

tained the liberty for which he had ſo long languiſhed. But though he recovered his freedom, and was reinſtated in his dominions, his ſufferings ſeem to have broken the vigour, and to have extinguiſhed the activity of his mind: from being the boldeſt as well as moſt enterpriſing prince in the empire, he became the moſt timid and cautious, and paſſed the remainder of his days in a pacific indolence.

The degraded elector of Saxony, likewiſe, procured his liberty in conſequence of the treaty of Paſſau. The emperor having been obliged to relinquiſh all his ſchemes for extirpating the proteſtant religion, had no longer any motive for detaining him a priſoner; and being extremely ſolicitous, at that juncture, to recover the confidence and good-will of the Germans, whoſe aſſiſtance was eſſential to the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe which he meditated againſt the king of France, he, among other expedients for that purpoſe, thought of releaſing from impriſonment a prince whoſe merit entitled him no leſs to eſteem, than his ſufferings rendered him the object of compaſſion. John Frederick took poſſeſſion accordingly of that part of his territories which had been reſerved for him, when Maurice was inveſted with the electoral dignity. As in this ſituation he continued to diſplay the ſame virtuous magnanimity for which he had been conſpicuous in a more proſperous and ſplendid ſtate, and which he had retained amidſt all his ſufferings, he maintained during the remainder of his life that high reputation to which he had ſo juſt a title.

The loſs of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, had made a deep impreſſion on the emperor. Accuſtomed to terminate all his operations againſt France with advantage to himſelf, he thought that it nearly concerned his honour not to allow Henry the ſuperiority in this war, or to ſuffer his own adminiſtration to be ſtained with the infamy of having permited territories of ſuch conſequence to be diſmembered from the empire. This was no leſs a point of intereſt than of honour. As the frontier of Champagne was more naked, and

lay more expoſed than that of any province in France, Charles had frequently, during his wars with that kingdom, made inroads upon that quarter with great ſucceſs and effect; but if Henry were allowed to retain his late conqueſts, France would gain ſuch a formidable barrier on that ſide, as to be altogether ſecure, where formerly ſhe had been weakeſt. On the other hand, the empire had now loſt as much, in point of ſecurity, as France had acquired; and being ſtripped of the defence which thoſe cities afforded it, lay open to be invaded on a quarter, where all the towns having been hitherto conſidered as interior, and remote from any enemy, were but ſlightly fortified. Theſe conſiderations determined Charles to attempt recovering the three towns of which Henry had made himſelf maſter; and the preparations which he had made againſt Maurice and his aſſociates, enabled him to carry his reſolution into immediate execution.

As ſoon, then, as the peace was concluded at Paſſau, he left his inglorious retreat at Villach, and advanced to Augſburg, at the head of a conſiderable body of Germans which he had levied, together with all the troops which he had drawn out of Italy and Spain. To theſe he added ſeveral battalions, which having been in the pay of the confederates entered into his ſervice when diſmiſſed by them; and he prevailed likewiſe on ſome princes of the empire to join him with their vaſſals. In order to conceal the deſtination of this formidable army, and to guard againſt alarming the French king, ſo as to put him on preparing for the defence of his late conqueſts, he gave out that he was to march forthwith into Hungary, in order to ſecond Maurice in his operations againſt the infidels. When he began to advance towards the Rhine, and could no longer employ that pretext, he tried a new artifice, and ſpread a report, that he took this rout in order to chaſtiſe Albert of Brandenburg, whoſe cruel exactions in that part of the empire called loudly for his interpoſition to check them.

But the French having grown acquainted, at laſt, with arts by which they had been ſo often deceived, viewed all Charles's motions with diſtruſt. Henry immediately diſcerned the true object of his vaſt preparations, and reſolved to defend the important conqueſts which he had gained with vigour equal to that with which they were about to be attacked. As he foreſaw that the whole weight of the war would be turned againſt Metz, by whoſe fate that of Toul and Verdun would be determined, he nominated Francis of Lorrain, duke of Guiſe, to take the command in that city during the ſiege, the iſſue of which would equally affect the honour and intereſt of his country. His choice could not have fallen upon any perſon more worthy of that truſt. The duke of Guiſe poſſeſſed, in a high degree, all the talents of courage, ſagacity, and preſence of mind, which render men eminent in military command. He was largely endowed with that magnanimity of ſoul which delights in bold enterpriſes, and aſpires to fame by ſplendid and extraordinary actions. He repaired with joy to the dangerous ſtation aſſigned him, as to a theatre on which he might diſplay his great qualities under the immediate eye of his countrymen, all ready to applaud him. The martial genius of the French nobility in that age, which conſidered it as the greateſt reproach to remain inactive, when there was any opportunity of ſignaliſing their courage, prompted great numbers to follow a leader who was the darling as well as the pattern of every one that courted military fame. Several princes of the blood, many noblemen of the higheſt rank, and all the young officers who could obtain the king's permiſſion, entered Metz as volunteers. By their preſence they added ſpirit to the garriſon, and enabled the duke of Guiſe to employ, on every emergency, perſons eager to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and fit to conduct any ſervice.

But with whatever alacrity the duke of Guiſe undertook the defence of Metz, he found every thing upon his arrival there, in ſuch a ſituation, as might have induced any perſon

of leſs intrepid courage to deſpair of defending it with ſucceſs. The city was of great extent, with large ſuburbs; the walls were in many places feeble and without ramparts; the ditch narrow; and the old towers, which projected inſtead of baſtions, were at too great diſtance from each other to defend the ſpace between them. For all theſe defects he endeavoured to provide the beſt remedy which the time would permit. He ordered the ſuburbs, without ſparing the monaſteries or churches, not even that of St. Arnulph, in which ſeveral kings of France had been buried, to be levelled with the ground; but in order to guard againſt the imputation of impiety, to which ſuch a violation of ſo many ſacred edifices, as well as of the aſhes of the dead, might expoſe him, he executed this with much religious ceremony. Having ordered all the holy veſtments and utenſils, together with the bones of the kings, and other perſons depoſited in theſe churches, to be removed, they were carried in ſolemn proceſſion to a church within the walls, he himſelf walking before them bare-headed, with a torch in his hand. He then pulled down ſuch houſes as ſtood near the walls, cleared and enlarged the ditch, repaired the ruinous fortifications, and erected new ones. As it was neceſſary that all theſe works ſhould be finiſhed with the utmoſt expedition, he laboured at them with his own hands: the officers and volunteers imitated his example, and the ſoldiers ſubmitted with cheerfulneſs to the moſt ſevere and fatiguing ſervice, when they ſaw that their ſuperiors did not decline to bear a part in it. At the ſame time he compelled all uſeleſs perſons to leave the place; he filled the magazines with proviſions and military ſtores; he burnt the mills, and deſtroyed the corn and forage for ſeveral miles round the town. Such were his popular talents, as well as his arts of acquiring an aſcendant over the minds of men, that the citizens ſeconded him with no leſs ardour than the ſoldiers; and every other paſſion being ſwallowed up in the zeal to repulſe the enemy, with which he inſpired them, they beheld the ruin of their e-

ſtates, together with the havock which he made among their public and private buildings, without any motion of reſentment †.

Meantime the emperor having collected all his forces, continued his march towards Metz. As he paſſed thro' the cities on the Rhine, he ſaw the diſmal effects of that licentious and waſteful war which Albert had carried on in theſe parts. Upon his approach, that prince, though at the head of twenty thouſand men, withdrew into Lorrain, as if he had intended to join the French king, whoſe arms he had quartered with his own in all his ſtandards and enſigns. Albert was not in a condition to cope with the Imperial troops ‡, which amounted at leaſt to ſixty thouſand men, forming one of the moſt numerous and beſt appointed armies which had been brought into the field during that age, in any of the wars among Chriſtian princes.

The chief command, under the emperor, was committed to the duke of Alva, aſſiſted by the marquis de Marignano, together with the moſt experienced of the Italian and Spaniſh generals. As it was now towards the end of October, theſe intelligent officers repreſented the great danger of beginning, at ſuch an advanced ſeaſon, a ſiege which could not fail to prove very tedious. But Charles adhered to his own opinion with his uſual obſtinacy, and being confident that he had made ſuch preparations, and taken ſuch precautions, as would enſure ſucceſs, he ordered the city to be inveſted. As ſoon as the duke of Alva appeared [Oct. 19], a large body of the French ſallied out and attacked his van-guard with great vigour, put it in confuſion, and killed or took priſoners a conſiderable number of men. By this early ſpecimen which they gave of the conduct of their officers, as well as the valour of their troops, they ſhewed the Imperialiſts what an enemy they had to encounter, and how dear every advantage muſt coſt them. The place, however, was completely inveſted, the trenches were opened, and the other works begun.

† Thuan. xi. 387. ‡ Natal. Comitis, Hiſt. 127.

The attention both of the befiegers and befieged was turned for fome time towards Albert of Brandenburg, and they ftrove with emulation which fhould gain that prince, who ftill hovered in the neighbourhood, fluctuating in all the uncertainty of irrefolution, natural to a man, who, being fwayed by no principle, was allured different ways by contrary views of intereft. The French tempted him with offers extremely beneficial; the Imperialifts fcrupled at no promife which they thought could allure him. After much hefitation he was gained by the emperor, from whom he expected to receive advantages which were both more immediate and more permanent. As the French king, who began to fufpect his intentions, had appointed a body of troops under the duke of Aumale, brother to the duke of Guife, to watch his motions, Albert fell upon them unexpectedly with fuch vigour that he routed them entirely [Nov. 4], killed many of the officers, wounded Aumale himfelf, and took him prifoner. Immediately after this victory, he marched in triumph to Metz, and joined his army to that of the emperor. Charles, in reward for this fervice, and the great acceffion of ftrength which he brought him, granted Albert a formal pardon of all paft offences, and confirmed him in the poffeffion of the territories which he had violently ufurped during the war†.

The duke of Guife, though deeply affected with his brother's misfortune, did not remit, in any degree, the vigour with which he defended the town. He haraffed the befiegers by frequent fallies, in which his officers were fo eager to diftinguifh themfelves, that his authority being hardly fufficient to reftrain the impetuofity of their courage, he was obliged at different times to fhut the gates, and to conceal the keys, in order to prevent the princes of the blood, and noblemen of the firft rank, from expofing themfelves to danger in every fally. He repaired in the night what the enemy's artillery had beat down during the day, or erected be-

† Sleid. 575. Thuan. lib. xi. 389, 392.

hind the ruined works new fortifications of almoſt equal ſtrength. The Imperialiſts, on their part, puſhed on the attack with great ſpirit, and carried forward, at once, approaches againſt different parts of the town. But the art of attacking fortified places was not then arrived at that degree of perfection to which it was carried towards the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, during the long war in the Netherlands. The beſiegers, after the unwearied labour of many weeks, found that they had made but little progreſs; and although their batteries had made breaches in different places, they ſaw, to their aſtoniſhment, works ſuddenly appear, in demoliſhing which their fatigues and dangers would be renewed. The emperor, enraged at the obſtinate reſiſtance which his army met with, left Thionville, where he had been confined by a violent fit of the gout, and though ſtill ſo infirm that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, he repaired to the camp [Nov. 26]; that, by his preſence, he might animate the ſoldiers, and urge on the attack with greater ſpirit. Upon his arrival, new batteries were erected, and new efforts were made with redoubled ardour.

But, by this time, winter had ſet in with great rigour; the camp was alternately deluged with rain or covered with ſnow; at the ſame time proviſions were become extremely ſcarce, as a body of French cavalry which hovered in the neighbourhood, often interrupted the convoys, or rendered their arrival difficult and uncertain. Diſeaſes began to ſpread among the ſoldiers, eſpecially among the Italians and Spaniards, unaccuſtomed to ſuch inclement weather; great numbers were diſabled from ſerving, and many died. At length ſuch breaches were made as ſeemed practicable, and Charles reſolved to hazard a general aſſault, in ſpite of all the remonſtrances of his generals againſt the imprudence of attacking a numerous garriſon, conducted and animated by the moſt gallant of the French nobility, with an army weakened by diſeaſes, and diſheartened with ill ſucceſs. The duke of Guiſe, ſuſpecting the emperor's intentions from the extraor-

dinary movements which he obſerved in the enemy's camp, ordered all his troops to their reſpective poſts. They appeared immediately on the walls, and behind the breaches, with ſuch a determined countenance, ſo eager for the combat, and ſo well prepared to give the aſſailants a warm reception, that the Imperialiſts, inſtead of advancing to the charge when the word of command was given, ſtood motionleſs in a timid dejected ſilence. The emperor, perceiving that he could not truſt troops whoſe ſpirits were ſo much broken, retired abruptly to his quarters, complaining that he was now deſerted by his ſoldiers, who deſerved no longer the name of men†.

Deeply as this behaviour of his troops mortified and affected Charles, he would not hear of abandoning the ſiege, though he ſaw the neceſſity of changing the method of attack. He ſuſpended the fury of his batteries, and propoſed to proceed by the more ſecure but tedious method of ſapping. But as it ſtill continued to rain or to ſnow almoſt inceſſantly, ſuch as were employed in this ſervice endured incredible hardſhips: and the duke of Guiſe, whoſe induſtry was not inferior to his valour, diſcovering all their mines, counter-worked them, and prevented their effect. At laſt, Charles finding it impoſſible to contend any longer with the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and with enemies whom he could neither overpower by force, nor ſubdue by art, while at the ſame time a contagious diſtemper raged among his troops, and cut off daily great numbers of the officers as well as ſoldiers, yielded to the ſolicitations of his generals, who conjured him to ſave the remains of his army by a timely retreat; "Fortune," ſays he, "I now perceive, reſembles other females, and chuſes to confer her favours on young men, while ſhe turns her back on thoſe who are advanced in years."

Upon this, he gave orders immediately to raiſe the ſiege [Dec. 26], and ſubmitted to the diſgrace of abandoning

† Thuan. 397.

the enterprife, after having continued fifty-fix days before the town, during which time he had loft upwards of thirty thoufand men, who died of difeafes, or were killed by the enemy. The duke of Guife, as foon as he perceived the intention of the Imperialifts, fent out feveral bodies both of cavalry and infantry to infeft their rear, to pick up ftragglers, and to feize every opportunity of attacking them with advantage. Such was the confufion with which they made their retreat, that the French might have haraffed them in the moft cruel manner. But when they fallied out, a fpectacle prefented itfelf to their view, which extinguifhed at once all hoftile rage, and melted them into tendernefs and compaffion. The Imperial camp was filled with the fick and wounded, with the dead and the dying. In all the different roads by which the army retired, numbers were fonnd, who, having made an effort to efcape, beyond their ftrength, were left, when they could go no farther, to perifh without affiftance. This they received from their enemies, and were indebted to them for all the kind offices which their friends had not the power to perform. The duke of Guife immediately ordered proper refrefhments for fuch as were dying of hunger; he appointed furgeons to attend the fick and wounded; he removed fuch as could bear it to the adjacent villages; and thofe who would have fuffered by being carried fo far, he admitted into the hofpitals which he had fitted up in the city for his own foldiers. As foon as they recovered, he fent them home under an efcort of foldiers, and with money to bear their charges. By thefe acts of humanity, which were uncommon in that age, when war was carried on with greater rancour and ferocity than at prefent, the duke of Guife completed the fame which he had acquired by his gallant and fuccefsful defence of Metz, and engaged thofe whom he had vanquifhed to vie with his own countrymen in extolling his name†.

† Sleid. 575. Thuan. lib. xi. 389, &c. Pere Daniel, Hift. de France, tom. iii. 392. Pere Daniel's account of this fiege is ta-

To theſe calamities in Germany, were added ſuch unfortunate events in Italy as rendered this the moſt diſaſtrous year in the emperor's life. During his reſidence at Villach, Charles had applied to Coſmo di Medici for the loan of two hundred thouſand crowns. But his credit at that time was ſo low, that in order to obtain this inconſiderable ſum, he was obliged to put him in poſſeſſion of the principality of Piombino, and by giving up that, he loſt the footing which he had hitherto maintained in Tuſcany, and enabled Coſmo to aſſume, for the future, the tone and deportment of a prince altogether independent. Much about the time that his indigence conſtrained him to part with this valuable territory, he loſt Sienna, which was of ſtill greater conſequence, thro' the ill conduct of Don Diego de Mendoza†.

Sienna, like moſt of the great cities in Italy, had long enjoyed a republican government, under the protection of the empire; but being torn in pieces by the diſſenſions between the nobility and the people, which divided all the Italian commonwealths, the faction of the people, which gained the aſcendant, beſought the emperor to become the guardian of the adminiſtration which they had eſtabliſhed, and admitted into their city a ſmall body of Spaniſh ſoldiers, whom he had ſent to countenance the execution of the laws, and to preſerve tranquillity among them. The command of theſe troops was given to Mendoza, at that time ambaſſador for the emperor at Rome, who perſuaded the credulous multitude, that it was neceſſary for their ſecurity againſt any future attempt of the nobles, to allow him to build a citadel in Sienna; and as he flattered himſelf that by means of this fortreſs he might render the emperor maſter of the city, he puſhed on the works with all poſſible diſpatch. But he threw off the maſk too ſoon. Before the fortifications were completed, he began to indulge his natural haughtineſs and ſeve-

ken from the journal of the Sieur de Salignac, who was preſent. Natal. Comit. Hiſt. 129.

† Thuan. lib. xi. 376.

ity of temper, and to treat the citizens with great infolence. At the fame time the foldiers in garrifon being paid as irregularly as the emperor's troops ufually were, lived almoft at difcretion upon the inhabitants, and were guilty of many acts of licence and oppreffion.

Thefe injuries awakened the Siennefe to a fenfe of their danger. As they faw the neceffity of exerting themfelves, while the unfinifhed fortifications of the citadel left them any hopes of fuccefs, they applied to the French ambaffador at Rome, who readily promifed them his mafter's protection and affiftance. At the fame time, forgetting their domeftic animofities when fuch a mortal blow was aimed at the liberty and exiftence of the republic, they fent agents to the exiled nobles, and invited them to concur with them in faving their country from the fervitude with which it was threatened. As there was not a moment to lofe, meafures were concerted fpeedily, but with great prudence; and were executed with equal vigour. The citizens rofe fuddenly in arms; the exiles flocked into the town from different parts with all their partifans, and what troops they could draw together; and feveral bodies of mercenaries in the pay of France appeared to fupport them. The Spaniards, though furprifed, and much inferior in number, defended themfelves with great courage; but feeing no profpect of relief, and having no hopes of maintaining their ftation long in a half-finifhed fortrefs, they foon gave it up. The Siennefe, with the utmoft alacrity, levelled it with the ground, that no monument might remain of that odious ftructure, which had been raifed in order to enflave them. At the fame time renouncing all connection with the emperor, they fent ambaffadors to thank the king of France as the reftorer of their liberty, and to entreat that he would fecure to them the perpetual enjoyment of that bleffing, by continuing his protection to their republic†.

† Pecci Memorie de Sienna, vol. iii. p. 230, 261. Thuan. 375, 377, &c. Paruta. Hift. Venet 267. Mem. de Ribier, 424, &c.

To these misfortues, one still more fatal had almost succeeded. The severe administration of Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroy of Naples, having filled that kingdom with murmuring and disaffection, the prince of Salerno, the head of the malecontents, had fled to the court of France, where all who bore ill-will to the emperor or his ministers were sure of finding protection and assistance. That nobleman, in the usual style of exiles, boasting much of the number and power of his partisans, and of his great influence with them, prevailed on Henry to think of invading Naples, from an expectation of being joined by all those with whom the prince of Salerno held correspondence, or who were dissatisfied with Toledo's government. But though the first hint of this enterprise was suggested by the prince of Salerno, Henry did not chuse that its success should entirely depend upon his being able to fulfil the promises which he had made. He applied for aid to Solyman, whom he courted, after his father's example, as his most vigorous auxiliary against the emperor, and solicited him to second his operations, by sending a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean. It was not difficult to obtain what he requested of the sultan, who, at this time, was highly incensed against the house of Austria, on account of the proceedings in Hungary. He ordered an hundred and fifty ships to be equipped, that they might sail towards the coast of Naples, at whatever time Henry should name, and might co-operate with the French troops in their attempts upon that kingdom. The command of this fleet was given to the corsair Dragut, an officer trained up under Barbarossa, and scarcely inferior to his master in courage, in talents, or in good fortune. He appeared on the coast of Calabria at the time which had been agreed on, landed at several places, plundered and burnt several villages; and at last, casting anchor in the bay of Naples, filled that city with consternation. But as the French fleet, detained by some accident, which the contemporary historians have not explained, did not join the Turks

according to concert, they after waiting twenty days, without hearing any tidings of it, ſet ſail for Conſtantinople, and thus delivered the viceroy of Naples from the terror of an invaſion, which he was not in a condition to have reſiſted *.

1553.] As the French had never given ſo ſevere a check to the emperor in any former campaign, they expreſſed immoderate joy at the ſucceſs of their arms. Charles himſelf, accuſtomed to a long ſeries of proſperity, felt the calamity moſt ſenſibly, and retired from Metz into the Low-Countries, much dejected with the cruel reverſe of fortune which affected him in his declining age, when the violence of the gout had increaſed to ſuch a pitch, as entirely broke the vigour of his conſtitution, and rendered him peeviſh, difficult of acceſs, and often incapable of applying to buſineſs. But whenever he enjoyed any interval of eaſe, all his thoughts were bent on revenge; and he deliberated, with the greateſt ſolicitude, concerning the moſt proper means of annoying France, and of effacing the ſtain which had obſcured the reputation and glory of his arms. All the ſchemes concerning Germany, which had engroſſed him ſo long, being diſconcerted by the peace of Paſſau, the affairs of the empire became only ſecondary objects of attention, and enmity to France was the predominant paſſion which chiefly occupied his mind.

The turbulent ambition of Albert of Brandenburg excited violent commotions, which diſturbed the empire during this year. That prince's troops having ſhared in the calamities of the ſiege of Metz, were greatly reduced in number. But the emperor, prompted by gratitude for his diſtinguiſhed ſervices on that occaſion, or perhaps with a ſecret view of fomenting diviſions among the princes of the empire, having paid up all the money due to him, he was enabled with that ſum to hire ſo many of the ſoldiers diſmiſſed from the Imperial army, that he was ſoon at the head of a body of men as numerous as ever. The biſhops of

* Thuan. 375, 380. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 403. Gianone.

Bamberg and Wurtzburg having folicited the Imperial chamber to annul, by its authority, the iniquitous conditions which Albert had compelled them to fign, that court unanimoufly found all their engagements with him to be void in their own nature, becaufe they had been extorted by force; enjoined Albert to renounce all claim to the performance of them; and, if he fhould perfift in fuch an unjuft demand, exhorted all the princes of the empire to take arms againft him as a difturber of the public tranquillity. To this decifion, Albert oppofed the confirmation of his tranfactions with the two prelates, which the emperor had granted him as the reward of his having joined the Imperial army at Metz; and in order to intimidate his antagonifts, as well as to convince them of his refolution not to relinquifh his pretenfions, he put his troops in motion, that he might fecure the territory in queftion. Various endeavours were employed, and many expedients propofed, in order to prevent the kindling a new war in Germany. But the fame warmth of temper which rendered Albert turbulent and enterprifing, infpiring him with the moft fanguine hopes of fuccefs, even in his wildeft undertakings, he difdainfully rejected all reafonable overtures of accommodation.

Upon this, the Imperial chamber iffued its decree againft him, and required the elector of Saxony, together with feveral other princes mentioned by name, to take arms in order to carry it into execution. Maurice, and thofe affociated with him, were not unwilling to undertake this fervice. They were extremely folicitous to maintain public order by fupporting the authority of the Imperial chamber, and faw the neceffity of giving a timely check to the ufurpations of an ambitious prince, who had no principle of action but regard to his own intereft, and no motive to direct him but the impulfe of ungovernable paffions. They had good reafon to fufpect, that the emperor encouraged Albert in his extravagant and irregular proceedings and fecretly afforded him affiftance that, by raifing him up to rival Maurice in power, he might, in any future broil, make ufe of his affiftance to

counterbalance and controul the authority which the other had acquired in the empire†.

These confiderations united the moft powerful princes in Germany in a league againft Albert, of which Maurice was declared generaliffimo [April 2]. This formidable confederacy, however, wrought no change in Albert's fentiments; but as he knew that he could not refift fo many princes, if he fhould allow them time to affemble their forces, he endeavoured, by his activity, to deprive them of all the advantages which they might derive from their united power and numbers; and for that reafon marched directly againft Maurice, the enemy whom he dreaded moft. It was happy for the allies that the conduct of their affairs was committed to a prince of fuch abilities. He, by his authority and example, had infpired them with vigour; and having carried on their preparations with a degree of rapidity of which confederate bodies are feldom capable, he was in condition to face Albert before he could make any confiderable progrefs.

Their armies which were nearly equal in number, each confifting of twenty-four thoufand men, met at Sieverhaufen, in the dutchy of Lunenburgh; and the violent animofity againft each other, which poffeffed the two leaders, did not fuffer them to continue long inactive. The troops inflamed with the fame hoftile rage, marched fiercely to the combat [June 9]; they fought with the greateft obftinacy; and as both generals were capable of availing themfelves of every favourable occurrence, the battle remained long doubtful each gaining ground upon the other alternately. At laft victory declared for Maurice, who was fuperior in cavalry and Albert's army fled in confufion, leaving four thoufand dead in the field, and their camp, baggage, and artillery in the hands of the conquerors. The allies bought their victory dear, their beft troops fuffered greatly, two fons of the

† Sleid. 585. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 442. Arnoldi vita Maurit. ap. Menken. ii. 1242.

duke of Brunfwick, a duke of Lunenburgh, and many other perfons of diftinction, were among the number of the flain §. But all thefe were foon forgotten; for Maurice himfelf, as he led up to a fecond charge a body of horfe which had been broken, received a wound with a piftol-bullet in the belly, of which he died two days after the battle, in the thirty-fecond year of his age, and in the fixth after his attaining the electoral dignity.

Of all the perfonages who have appeared in the hiftory of this active age, when great occurrences and fudden revolutions called forth extraordinary talents to view, and afforded them full opportunity to difplay themfelves, Maurice may juftly be confidered as the moft remarkable. If his exorbitant ambition, his profound diffimulation, and his unwarrantable ufurpation of his kinfman's honours and dominions exclude him from being praifed as a virtuous man; his prudence in concerting his meafures, his vigour in executing them, and the uniform fuccefs with which they were attended, entitle him to the appellation of a great prince. At an age when impetuofity of fpirit commonly predominates over political wifdom, when the higheft effort even of a genius of the firft order is to fix on a bold fcheme, and to execute it with promptitude and courage, he formed and conducted an intricate plan of policy, which deceived the moft artful monarch in Europe. At the very juncture when the emperor had attained to almoft unlimited defpotifm, Maurice, with power feemingly inadequate to fuch an undertaking, compelled him to relinquifh all his ufurpations, and eftablifhed not only the religious but civil liberties of Germany on fuch foundations as have hitherto remained unfhaken. Although, at one period of his life, his conduct excited the jealoufy of the proteftants, and at another drew on him the refentment of the Roman catholics, fuch was his mafterly ad-

§ Hiftoria pugnæ infelicis inter Maurit. & Albert. Thom. Wintzero auctore apud Scard. ii. 559. Sleid. 583. Rufcelli epiftres aux Princes, 154. Arnoldi vita Maurit. 1245.

dress, that he was the only prince of the age who, in any degree possessed the confidence of both, and whom both lamented as the most able as well as faithful guardian of the constitution and laws of his country.

The consternation which Maurice's death occasioned among his troops, prevented them from making the proper improvement of the victory which they had gained. Albert whose active courage, and profuse liberality, rendered him the darling of such military adventurers as were little solicitous about the justice of his cause, soon re-assembled his broken forces, and made fresh levies with such success that he was quickly at the head of fifteen thousand men, and renewed his depredations with additional fury. But Henry of Brunswick having taken the command of the allied troops, defeated him in a second battle [Sept. 12] scarcely less bloody than the former. Even then his courage did not sink, nor were his resources exhausted. He made several efforts, and some of them very vigorous, to retrieve his affairs: but being laid under the ban of the empire by the Imperial chamber; being driven by degrees out of all his hereditary territories, as well as those which he had usurped; being forsaken by many of his officers, and overpowered by the number of his enemies, he fled for refuge into France. After having been, for a considerable time, the terror and scourge of Germany, he lingered out some years in an indigent and dependent state of exile, the miseries of which his restless and arrogant spirit endured with the most indignant impatience. Upon his death without issue [Jan. 12, 1577], his territories, which had been seized by the princes who took arms against him, were restored, by a decree of the emperor, to his collateral heirs of the house of Brandenburg*.

Maurice having left only one daughter, who was afterwards married to William prince of Orange, by whom she had a son who bore his grandfather's name, and inherited

* Sleid. 592, 594, 599. Struv. Corp. Hist. Germ. 1075.

the great talents for which he was conspicuous, a violent dispute arose concerning the succession to his honours and territories. John Frederick, the degraded elector, claimed the electoral dignity, and that part of his patrimonial estate of which he had been violently stripped after the Smalkaldic war. Augustus, Maurice's only brother, pleaded his right not only to the hereditary possessions of their family, but to the electoral dignity, and to the territories which Maurice had acquired. As Augustus was a prince of considerable abilities, as well as of great candour and gentleness of manners, the states of Saxony, forgetting the merits and sufferings of their former master, declared warmly in his favour. His pretensions were powerfully supported by the king of Denmark, whose daughter he had married, and zealously espoused by the king of the Romans, out of regard to Maurice's memory. The degraded elector, though secretly favoured by his ancient enemy the emperor, was at last obliged to relinquish his claim, upon obtaining a small addition to the territories which had been allotted to him, together with a stipulation, securing to his family the eventual succession, upon a failure of male heirs in the Albertine line. That unfortunate, but magnanimous prince, died next year, soon after ratifying this treaty of agreement; and the electoral dignity is still possessed by the descendants of Augustus*.

During these transactions in Germany, war was carried on in the Low-Countries with considerable vigour. The emperor, impatient to efface the stain which his ignominious repulse at Metz left upon his military reputation, had an army early in the field, and laid siege to Terouane. Though the town was of such importance, that Francis used to call it one of the two pillows on which a king of France might sleep with security, the fortifications were in bad repair: Henry, trusting to what had happened at Metz, thought nothing more was necessary to render all the

* Sleid. 587. Thuan. 409. Struv. Corp. Hist. Germ.

efforts of the enemy abortive, than to reinforce the garrison with a confiderable number of the young nobility. But d'Efsè, a veteran officer who commanded them, being killed, and the Imperialifts pufhing the fiege with great vigour and perfeverance, the place was taken by affault [June 21.] That it might not fall again into the hands of the French, Charles ordered not only the fortifications but the town itfelf to be razed, and the inhabitants to be difperfed in the adjacent cities. Elated with this fuccefs, the Imperialifts immediately invefted Hefden, which, though defended with great bravery, was likewife taken by affault, and fuch of the garrifon as efcaped the fword, were made prifoners. The emperor entrufted the conduct of this fiege to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, prince of Piedmont, who, on that occafion, gave the firft difplay of thofe great talents for military command, which foon entitled him to be ranked among the firft generals of the age, and facilitated his re-eftablifhment in his hereditary dominions, the greater part of which having been over-run by Francis in his expeditions into Italy, were ftill retained by Henry †.

The lofs of thefe towns, together with fo many perfons of diftinction, either killed or taken by the enemy, was no inconfiderable calamity to France, and Henry felt it very fenfibly; but he was ftill more mortified at the emperor's having recovered his wonted fuperiority in the field fo foon after the blow at Metz, which the French had reprefented as fatal to his power. He was afhamed too, of his own remiffnefs and exceffive fecurity at the opening of the campaign; and in order to repair that error, he affembled a numerous army, and led it into the Low-Countries.

Roufed at the approach of fuch a formidable enemy, Charles left Bruffels, where he had been fhut up fo clofely during feven months, that it came to be believed in many parts of Europe that he was dead; and though he was fo much debilitated by the gout that he could hardly bear the

† Thuan. 411. Haræi Annales Brabant. 669.

motion of a litter, he haſtened to join his army. The eyes of all Europe were turned with expectation towards thoſe mighty and exaſperated rivals, between whom a deciſive battle was now thought unavoidable. But Charles having prudently declined to hazard a general engagement, and the violence of the autumnal rains rendering it impoſſible for the French to undertake any ſiege, they retired, without having performed any thing ſuitable to the great preparations which they had made†.

The Imperial arms were not attended with the ſame ſucceſs in Italy. The narrowneſs of the emperor's finances ſeldom allowed him to act with vigour in two different places at the ſame time; and having exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in order to make a great effort in the Low-Countries, his operations on the other ſide of the Alps were proportionally feeble. The viceroy of Naples, in conjunction with Coſmo di Medici, who was greatly alarmed at the introduction of French troops into Sienna, endeavoured to become maſter of that city. But, inſtead of reducing the Sienneſe, the Imperialiſts were obliged to retire abruptly, in order to defend their own country, upon the appearance of the Turkiſh fleet, which threatened the coaſt of Naples; and the French not only eſtabliſhed themſelves more firmly in Tuſcany, but, by the aſſiſtance of the Turks, conquered a great part of the iſland of Corſica, ſubject at that time to the Genoeſe*.

The affairs of the houſe of Auſtria declined no leſs in Hungary during the courſe of this year. As the troops which Ferdinand kept in Tranſylvania received their pay very irregularly, they lived almoſt at diſcretion upon the inhabitants; and their inſolence and rapaciouſneſs greatly diſguſted all ranks of men, and alienated them from their new ſovereign, who inſtead of protecting, plundered his ſubjects. Their indignation at this, added to their deſire of revenging Martinuzzi's death, wrought ſo much upon a turbulent no-

† Haræus, 672. Thuan. 414. * Thuan. 417.

bility impatient of injury, and upon a fierce people prone to change, that they were ripe for a revolt. At that very juncture, their late queen Isabella, together with her son, appeared in Transylvania. Her ambitious mind could not bear the solitude and inactivity of a private life; and repenting quickly of the cession which she had made of the crown in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-one, she left the place of her retreat, hoping that the dissatisfaction of the Hungarians with the Austrian government would prompt them once more to recognise her son's right to the crown. Some noblemen of great eminence declared immediately in his favour. The basha of Belgrade, by Solyman's order, espoused his cause, in opposition to Ferdinand; the Spanish and German soldiers, instead of advancing against the enemy, mutinied for want of pay, declaring that they would march back to Vienna; so that Castaldo, their general, was obliged to abandon Transylvania to Isabella and the Turks, and to place himself at the head of the mutineers, that by his authority he might restrain them from plundering the Austrian territories through which they passed*.

Ferdinand's attention was turned so entirely towards the affairs of Germany, and his treasures so much exhausted by his late efforts in Hungary, that he made no attempt to recover that valuable province, although a favourable opportunity for that purpose presented itself, as Solyman was then engaged in a war with Persia, and involved besides in domestic calamities which engrossed and disturbed his mind. Solyman, though distinguished by many accomplishments from the other Ottoman princes, had all the passions peculiar to that violent and haughty race. He was jealous of his authority, sudden as well as furious in his anger, and susceptible of all that rage of love, which reigns in the East, and often produces the wildest and most tragical effects. His favourite mistress was a Circassian slave of ex-

* Thuan. 430.

quiſite beauty, who bore him a ſon called Muſtapha, whom, both on account of his birthright and merit, he deſtined to be the heir of his crown. Roxalana, a Ruſſian captive, ſoon ſupplanted the Circaſſian, and gained the ſultan's heart. Having the addreſs to retain the conqueſt which ſhe had made, ſhe kept poſſeſſion of his love without any rival for many years, during which ſhe brought him ſeveral ſons and one daughter. All the happineſs, however, which ſhe derived from the unbounded ſway that ſhe had acquired over the mind of a monarch whom one half of the world revered or dreaded, was embittered by perpetual reflections on Muſtapha's acceſſion to the throne, and the certain death of her ſons, who, ſhe foreſaw, would be immediately ſacrificed, according to the barbarous jealouſy of Turkiſh policy, to the ſafety of the new emperor. By dwelling continually on this melancholy idea, ſhe came gradually to view Muſtapha as the enemy of her children, and to hate him with more than a ſtep-mother's ill-will. This prompted her to wiſh his deſtruction, in order to ſecure for one of her own ſons the throne which was deſtined for him. Nor did ſhe want either ambition to attempt ſuch a high enterpriſe, or the arts requiſite for carrying it into execution. Having prevailed on the ſultan to give her only daughter in marriage to Ruſtan the grand vizier, ſhe diſcloſed her ſcheme to that crafty miniſter, who perceiving that it was his own intereſt to co-operate with her, readily promiſed his aſſiſtance towards aggrandizing that branch of the royal line to which he was ſo nearly allied.

As ſoon as Roxalana had concerted her meaſures with this able confident, ſhe began to affect a wonderful zeal for the Mahometan religion, to which Solyman was ſuperſtitiouſly attached, and propoſed to found and endow a royal moſque, a work of great expence, but deemed by the Turks meritorious in the higheſt degree. The mufti whom ſhe conſulted, approved much of her pious intention; but having been gained and inſtructed by Ruſtan, told her, that ſhe

being a ſlave could derive no benefit herſelf from that holy deed, for all the merit of it would accrue to Solyman, the maſter whoſe property ſhe was. Upon this ſhe ſeemed to be overwhelmed with ſorrow, and to ſink into the deepeſt melancholy, as if ſhe had been diſguſted with life and all its enjoyments. Solyman, who was abſent with the army, being informed of this dejection of mind, and of the cauſe from which it proceeded, diſcovered all the ſolicitude of a lover to remove it, and by a writing under his hand declared her a free woman. Roxalana having gained this point, proceeded to build the moſque, and re-aſſumed her uſual gaiety of ſpirit. But when Solyman, on his return to Conſtantinople, ſent an eunuch, according to the cuſtom of the ſeraglio, to bring her to partake of his bed, ſhe, ſeemingly with deep regret, but in the moſt peremptory manner, declined to follow the eunuch, declaring that what had been an honour to her while a ſlave, became a crime as ſhe was now a free woman, and that ſhe would not involve either the ſultan or herſelf in the guilt that muſt be contracted by ſuch an open violation of the law of their prophet. Solyman, whoſe paſſion this difficulty, as well as the affected delicacy which gave riſe to it, heightened and inflamed, had recourſe immediately to the mufti for his direction. He replied, agreeably to the koran, that Roxalana's ſcruples were well founded; but added, artfully, in words which Ruſtan had taught him to uſe, that it was in the ſultan's power to remove theſe difficulties, by eſpouſing her as his lawful wife. The amorous monarch cloſed eagerly with the propoſal, and ſolemnly married her, according to the form of the Mahometan ritual; though, by doing ſo, he diſregarded a maxim of policy which the pride of the Ottoman blood had taught all the ſultans ſince Bajazet I. to conſider as inviolable. From his time, none of the Turkiſh monarchs had married, becauſe, when he was vanquiſhed and taken priſoner by Tamerlane, his wife had been abuſed with barbarous inſolence by the Tartars. That no ſimilar calamity might

again subject the Ottoman family to the same disgrace, the sultans admitted none to their beds but slaves, whose dishonour could not bring any such stain upon their house.

But the more uncommon the step was, the more it convinced Roxalana of the unbounded influence which she had acquired over the sultan's heart; and emboldened her to prosecute, with greater hope of success, the scheme that she had formed in order to destroy Mustapha. This young prince having been entrusted by his father, according to the practice of the sultans in that age, with the government of several different provinces, was at that time invested with the administration in Diarbequir, the ancient Mesopotamia, which Solyman had wrested from the Persians, and added to his empire. In all these different commands, Mustapha had conducted himself with such cautious prudence as could give no offence to his father, though, at the same time, he governed with so much moderation as well as justice, and displayed such valour and generosity, as rendered him equally the favourite of the people and the darling of the soldiery.

There was no room to lay any folly or vice to his charge, that could impair the high opinion which his father entertained of him. Roxalana's malevolence was more refined; she turned his virtues against him, and made use of these as engines for his destruction. She often mentioned, in Solyman's presence, the splendid qualities of his son; she celebrated his courage, his liberality, his popular arts, with malicious and exaggerated praise. As soon as she perceived that the sultan heard these encomiums, which were often repeated, with uneasiness; that suspicion of his son began to mingle itself with his former esteem; and that by degrees he came to view him with jealousy and fear; she introduced, as by accident, some discourse concerning the rebellion of his father Selim against Bajazet his grandfather: she took notice of the bravery of the veteran troops under Mustapha's command, and of the neighbourhood of Dairbequir to the

territories of the Perſian ſophi, Solyman's mortal enemy. By theſe arts, whatever remained of paternal tenderneſs was gradually extinguiſhed, and ſuch paſſions were kindled in the breaſt of the ſultan, as gave all Roxalana's malignant ſuggeſtions the colour not only of probability but of truth. His ſuſpicions and fear of Muſtapha ſettled into deep-rooted hatred. He appointed ſpies to obſerve and report all his words and actions; he watched and ſtood on his guard againſt him as his moſt dangerous enemy.

Having thus alienated the ſultan's heart from Muſtapha, Roxalana ventured upon another ſtep. She entreated Solyman to allow her own ſons the liberty of appearing at court, hoping that by gaining acceſs to their father, they might, by their good qualities and dutiful deportment, inſinuate themſelves into that place in his affections which Muſtapha had formerly held; and, though what ſhe demanded was contrary to the practice of the Ottoman family in that age, the uxorious monarch granted her requeſt. To all theſe female intrigues Ruſtan added an artifice ſtill more ſubtle, which completed the ſultan's deluſion, and heightened his jealouſy and fear. He wrote to the baſhaws of the provinces adjacent to Diarbequir, inſtructing them to ſend him regular intelligence of Muſtapha's proceedings in his government, and to each of them he gave a private hint, flowing in appearance from his zeal for their intereſt, that nothing would be more acceptable to the ſultan than to receive favourable accounts of a ſon whom he deſtined to ſuſtain the glory of the Ottoman name. The baſhaws, ignorant of his fraudulent intention, and eager to pay court to their ſovereign at ſuch an eaſy price, filled their letters with ſtudied but fatal panegyrics of Muſtapha, repreſenting him as a prince worthy to ſucceed ſuch an illuſtrious father, and as endowed with talents which might enable him to emulate, perhaps to equal, his fame. Theſe letters were induſtriouſly ſhewn to Solyman, at the ſeaſons when it was known that they would make the deepeſt impreſſion. Every expreſſion in recommendation of

his ſon wounded him to the heart; he ſuſpected his principal officers of being ready to favour the moſt deſperate attempts of a prince whom they were ſo fond of praiſing; and fancying that he ſaw them already aſſaulting his throne with rebellious arms, he determined, while it was yet in his power, to anticipate the blow, and to ſecure his own ſafety by his ſon's death.

For this purpoſe, though under pretence of renewing the war againſt Perſia, he ordered Ruſtan to march towards Diarbequir at the head of a numerous army, and to rid him of a ſon whoſe life he deemed inconſiſtent with his own ſafety. But that crafty miniſter did not chuſe to be loaded with the odium of having executed this cruel order. As ſoon as he arrived in Syria he wrote to Solyman, that the danger was ſo imminent as called for his immediate preſence; that the camp was full of Muſtapha's emiſſaries; that many of the ſoldiers were corrupted; that the affections of all leaned towards him; that he had diſcovered a negotiation which had been carried on with the ſophi of Perſia in order to marry Muſtapha with one of his daughters; that he already felt his own talents as well as authority to be inadequate to the exigencies of ſuch an arduous conjuncture; that the ſultan alone had ſagacity to diſcern what reſolution ſhould be taken in thoſe circumſtances, and power to carry that reſolution into execution.

This charge of courting the friendſhip of the ſophi, Roxalana and Ruſtan had reſerved as the laſt and moſt envenomed of all their calumnies. It operated with the violence which they expected from Solyman's inveterate abhorrence of the Perſians, and threw him into the wildeſt tranſports of rage. He ſet out inſtantly for Syria, and haſtened thither with all the precipitation and impatience of fear and revenge. As ſoon as he joined his army near Aleppo, and had concerted meaſures with Ruſtan, he ſent a chiaus, or meſſenger of the court, to his ſon, requiring him to repair immediately to his preſence. Muſtapha, though no ſtranger to his ſtep-

mother's machinations, or to Ruſtan's malice, or to his father's violent temper, yet relying on his own innocence, and hoping to diſcredit the accuſations of his enemies by the promptitude of his obedience, followed the meſſenger without delay to Aleppo. The moment he arrived in the camp, he was introduced into the ſultan's tent. As he entered it, he obſerved nothing that could give him any alarm; no additional crowd of attendants, no body of armed guards, but the ſame order and ſilence which always reign in the ſultan's apartments. In a few minutes, however, ſeveral mutes appeared, at the ſight of whom Muſtapha, knowing what was his doom, cried with a loud voice, "Lo, my death!" and attempted to fly. The mutes ruſhed forward to ſeize him; he reſiſted and ſtruggled, demanding with the utmoſt earneſtneſs to ſee the ſultan; and deſpair, together with the hope of finding protection from the ſoldiers, if he could eſcape out of the tent, animated him with ſuch extraordinary ſtrength, that, for ſome time, he baffled all the efforts of the executioners. Solyman was within hearing of his ſon's cries, as well as of the noiſe which the ſtruggle occaſioned. Impatient of this delay of his revenge, and ſtruck with terror at the thoughts of Muſtapha's eſcaping, he drew aſide the curtain which divided the tent, and thruſting in his head, darted a fierce look towards the mutes, and, with wild and threatening geſtures, ſeemed to condemn their ſloth and timidity. At ſight of his father's furious and unrelenting countenance, Muſtapha's ſtrength failed, and his courage forſook him; the mutes faſtened the bow-ſtring about his neck, and in a moment put an end to his life.

The dead body was expoſed before the ſultan's tent. The ſoldiers gathered round it, and contemplating that mournful object with aſtoniſhment, and ſorrow, and indignation, were ready, if a leader had not been wanting, to have broke out into the wildeſt exceſſes of rage. After giving vent to the firſt expreſſions of their grief, they retired each man to his tent, and ſhutting themſelves up, bewailed in ſecret the cruel

fate of their favourite; nor was there one of them who tasted food, or even water, during the remainder of that day. Next morning the same solitude and silence reigned in the camp; and Solyman, being afraid that some dreadful storm would follow this sullen calm, in order to appease the enraged soldiers, deprived Rustan of the seals, ordered him to leave the camp, and raised Achmet, a gallant officer much beloved in the army, to the dignity of visier. This change, however, was made in concert with Rustan himself; that crafty minister suggesting it as the only expedient which could save himself or his master. But within a few months, when the resentment of the soldiers began to subside, and the name of Mustapha to be forgotten, Achmet was strangled by the sultan's command, and Rustan re-instated in the office of visier. Together with his former power, he re-assumed the plan for exterminating the race of Mustapha which he had concerted with Roxalana; and as they were afraid that an only son whom Mustapha had left, might grow up to avenge his death, they redoubled their activity, and by employing the same arts against him which they had practised against his father, they inspired Solyman with the same fears, and prevailed on him to issue orders for putting to death that young innocent prince. These orders were executed with barbarous zeal, by an eunuch, who was dispatched to Bursa, the place where the prince resided; and no rival was left to dispute the Ottoman throne with the sons of Roxalana*.

Such tragical scenes, productive of so deep distress, seldom occur but in the history of the great monarchies of the east, where the warmth of the climate seems to give every emotion of the heart its greatest force, and the absolute power of sovereigns, accustoms and enables them to gratify all their passions without controul. While this interesting transaction in the court of Solyman engaged his whole attention, Charles

* Augerii Gislenii Busbequii Legationis Turcicæ Epistolæ iv. Franc. 1615, p. 37. Thuan. lib. xii. p. 432. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 457. Mauroceni Histor. Veneta, lib. vii. p. 60.

was purſuing, with the utmoſt ardour, a new ſcheme for aggrandizing his family. About this time, Edward the ſixth of England, after a ſhort reign, in which he diſplayed ſuch virtues as filled his ſubject with ſanguine hopes of being happy under his government, and made them bear with patience all that they ſuffered from the weakneſs, the diſſenſions, and the ambition of the miniſters who aſſumed the adminiſtration during his minority, was ſeized with a lingering diſtemper which threatened his life. The emperor no ſooner received an account of this, than his ambition, always attentive to ſeize every opportunity of acquiring an increaſe of power, or of territories, to his ſon, ſuggeſted the thought of adding England to his other kingdoms, by the marriage of Philip with the princeſs Mary, the heir of Edward's crown. Being apprehenſive, however, that his ſon, who was then in Spain, might decline a match with a princeſs in her thirty-eighth year, and eleven years older than himſelf †; Charles determined, notwithſtanding his own age and infirmities, to make offer of himſelf as a huſband to his couſin.

But though Mary was ſo far advanced in years, and deſtitute of every charm either of perſon or of manners that could win affection or command eſteem, Philip, without heſitation, gave his conſent to the match propoſed by his father, and was willing, according to the uſual maxim of princes, to ſacrifice his inclination to his ambition. In order to enſure the ſucceſs of his ſcheme, the emperor, even before Edward's death, began to take ſuch ſteps as might facilitate it. Upon Edward's demiſe, Mary mounted the throne of England; the pretenſions of the lady Jane Grey proving as unfortunate as they were ill-founded*. Charles ſent immediately a pompous embaſſy to London to congratulate Mary on her acceſſion to the throne, and to propoſe the alliance with his ſon. The queen, dazzled with the proſpect of marrying the heir of the greateſt monarch in Europe; fond of uniting

† Palav. Hiſt. Concil. Trid. v. ii. c. 13. p. 150.
* Carte's Hiſt. of England, iii. 287.

more closely with her mother's family, to which she had been always warmly attached; and eager to secure the powerful aid which she knew would be necessary towards carrying on her favourite scheme of re-establishing the Romish religion in England, listened in the most favourable manner to the proposal. Among her subjects, it met with a very different reception. Philip, it was well known, contended for all the tenets of the church of Rome with a sanguinary zeal which exceeded the measure even of Spanish bigotry: this alarmed all the numerous partisans of the reformation. The Castilian haughtiness and reserve were far from being acceptable to the English, who, having several times seen their throne occupied by persons who were born subjects, had become accustomed to an unceremonious and familiar intercourse with their sovereigns. They could not think, without the utmost uneasiness, of admitting a foreign prince to that influence in their councils, which the husband of their queen would naturally possess. They dreaded, both from Philip's overbearing temper, and from the maxims of the Spanish monarchy which he had imbibed, that he would infuse ideas into the queen's mind, dangerous to the liberties of the nation, and would introduce foreign troops and money into the kingdom, to assist her in any attempt against them.

Full of these apprehensions, the house of commons, tho' in that age extremely obsequious to the will of their monarchs, presented a warm address against the Spanish match; many pamphlets were published, representing the dangerous consequences of the alliance with Spain, and describing Philip's bigotry and arrogance in the most odious colours. But Mary, inflexible in all her resolutions, paid no regard to the remonstrances of her commons, or to the sentiments of the people. The emperor, having secured, by various arts, the ministers whom she trusted most, they approved warmly of the match, and large sums were remitted by him in order to gain the rest of the council. Cardinal Pole, whom the

pope, immediately upon Mary's accession, had dispatched as his legate into England, in order to reconcile his native country to the see of Rome, was detained by the emperor's command at Dillinghen in Germany, lest by his presence he should thwart Philip's pretensions, and employ his interest in favour of his kinsman Courtnay earl of Devonshire, whom the English ardently wished their sovereign to chuse for a husband†.

As the negotiation did not admit of delay, it was carried forward with the greatest rapidity, the emperor agreeing, without hesitation, to every article in favour of England, which Mary's ministers either represented as necessary to soothe the people and reconcile them to the match, or that was suggested by their own fears and jealousy of a foreign master. The chief articles were [Jan. 12, 1554], that Philip, during his marriage with the queen, should bear the title of king of England, but the entire administration of affairs, as well as the sole disposal of all revenues, offices, and benefices, should remain with the queen; that the heirs of the marriage should, together with the crown of England, inherit the dutchy of Burgundy and the Low-Countries; that if prince Charles, Philip's only son by a former marriage, should die without issue, his children by the queen, whether male or female, should succeed to the crown of Spain, and all the emperor's hereditary dominions; that before the consummation of the marriage, Philip should swear solemnly, that he would retain no domestic who was not a subject of the queen, and would bring no foreigners into the kingdom that might give umbrage to the English; that he would make no alteration in the constitution or laws of England; that he would not carry the queen, or any of the children born of this marriage, out of the kingdom; that if the queen should die before him without issue, he would immediately leave the crown to the lawful heir, without claiming any right of administration whatever; that in consequence of

† Carte, iii. 288.

this marriage, England ſhould not be engaged in any war ſubſiſting between France and Spain; and that the alliance between France and England ſhould remain in full force*.

But this treaty, though both the emperor and Mary's miniſters employed their utmoſt addreſs in framing it ſo as to pleaſe the Engliſh, was far from quieting their fears and jealouſies. They ſaw that words and promiſes were a feeble ſecurity againſt the encroachments of an ambitious prince, who, as ſoon as he got poſſeſſion of the power and advantages which the queen's huſband muſt neceſſarily enjoy, could eaſily evade any of the articles which either limited his authority or obſtructed his ſchemes. They were convinced that the more favourable the conditions of the preſent treaty were to England, the more Philip would be tempted hereafter to violate them. They dreaded that England, like Naples, Milan, and the other countries annexed to Spain, would ſoon feel the dominion of that crown to be intolerably oppreſſive, and be conſtrained, as theſe had been, to waſte its wealth and vigour in wars wherein it had no intereſt, and from which it could derive no advantage. Theſe ſentiments prevailed ſo generally that every part of the kingdom was filled with diſcontent at the match, and with indignation againſt the adviſers of it. Sir Thomas Wyat, a gentleman of ſome note, and of good intentions towards the public, took advantage of this, and rouſed the inhabitants of Kent to arms, in order to ſave their country from a foreign yoke. Great numbers reſorted in a ſhort time to his ſtandard; he marched to London with ſuch rapidity, and the queen was ſo utterly unprovided for defence, that the aſpect of affairs was extremely threatening; and if any nobleman of diſtinction had joined the malecontents, or had Wyat poſſeſſed talents equal, in any degree, to the boldneſs of his enterpriſe, the inſurrection muſt have proved fatal to Mary's power. But all Wyat's meaſures were concerted with ſo little prudence, and execut-

* Rymer's Fœd. vol. xv. 377, 393. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 498.

ed with ſuch irreſolution, that many of his followers forſook him; the reſt were diſperſed by a handful of ſoldiers; and he himſelf was taken priſoner, without having made any effort worthy of the cauſe that he had undertaken, or ſuitable to the ardour with which he engaged in it. He ſuffered the puniſhment due to his raſhneſs and rebellion. The queen's authority was confirmed and increaſed by her ſucceſs in defeating this inconſiderate attempt to abridge it. The lady Jane Grey, whoſe title the ambition of her relations had ſet up in oppoſition to that of the queen, was, notwithſtanding her youth and innocence, brought to the ſcaffold. The lady Elizabeth, the queen's ſiſter, was obſerved with the moſt jealous attention. The treaty of marriage was ratified by the parliament.

Philip landed in England with a magnificent retinue, celebrated his nuptials with great ſolemnity; and though he could not lay aſide his natural ſeverity and pride, or aſſume gracious and popular manners, he endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the Engliſh nobility by his extraordinary liberality. Leſt that ſhould fail of acquiring him ſuch influence in the government of the kingdom as he aimed at obtaining, the emperor kept a body of twelve thouſand men on the coaſt of Flanders in readineſs to embark for England, and to ſupport his ſon in all his enterpriſes.

Emboldened by all theſe favourable circumſtances, Mary purſued the ſcheme of extirpating the proteſtant religion out of her dominions, with the moſt precipitate zeal. The laws of Edward the Sixth, in favour of the reformation were repealed; the proteſtant clergy ejected; all the forms and rights of the popiſh worſhip were re-eſtabliſhed; the nation was ſolemnly abſolved from the guilt which it had contracted during the period of its apoſtaſy, and was publicly reconciled to the church of Rome by cardinal Pole, who immediately after the queen's marriage, was permitted to continue his journey to England, and to exerciſe his legantine functions with the moſt ample power. Not ſatisfied with

having overturned the proteſtant church, and re-eſtabliſhing the ancient ſyſtem on its ruins, Mary inſiſted that all her ſubjects ſhould conform to the ſame mode of worſhip which ſhe preferred; ſhould profeſs their faith in the ſame creed which ſhe had approved; and abjure every practice or opinion that was deemed repugnant to either of them. Powers, altogether unknown in the Engliſh conſtitution, were veſted in certain perſons appointed to take cognizance of hereſy, and they proceeded to exerciſe them with more than inquiſitorial ſeverity. The proſpect of danger, however, did not intimidate the principal teachers of the proteſtant doctrines, who believed that they were contending for truths of the utmoſt conſequence to the happineſs of mankind. They boldly avowed their ſentiments, and were condemned to that cruel death which the church of Rome reſerves for its enemies. This ſhocking puniſhment was inflicted with that barbarity which the rancour of falſe zeal alone can inſpire. The Engliſh who are inferior in humanity to no people in Europe, and remarkable for the mildneſs of their public executions, beheld with aſtoniſhment and horror, perſons who had filled the moſt reſpectable ſtations in their church, and who were venerable on account of their age, their piety and their literature, condemned to endure torments to which their laws did not ſubject even the moſt atrocious criminals.

This extreme rigour did not accompliſh the end at which Mary aimed. The patience and fortitude with which theſe martyrs for the reformation ſubmitted to their ſufferings, the heroic contempt of death expreſſed by perſons of every rank, and age, and ſex, confirmed many more in the proteſtant faith, than the threats of their enraged perſecutors could frighten into apoſtaſy. The buſineſs of ſuch as were entruſted with trying of heretics multiplied continually, and appeared to be as endleſs as it was odious. The queen's ableſt miniſters became ſenſible how impolitic, as well as dangerous, it was to irritate the people by the frequent ſpectacle of public executions, which they deteſted as no

lefs unjuft than cruel. Even Philip was fo thoroughly convinced of her having run to an excefs of rigour, that on this occafion he affumed a part to which he was little accuftomed, becoming an advocate for moderation and lenity*.

But notwithftanding this attempt to ingratiate himfelf with the Englifh, they difcovered a conftant jealoufy and diftruft of all his intentions; and when fome members, who had been gained by the court, ventured to move in the houfe of commons that the nation ought to affift the emperor, the queen's father-in-law, in his war againft France, the propofal was rejected with general diffatisfaction. A motion which was made, that the parliament fhould give its confent that Philip might be publicly crowned as the queen's hufband, met with fuch a cold reception that it was inftantly withdrawn †.

The king of France had obferved the progrefs of the emperor's negotiation in England with much uneafinefs. The great acceffion of territories as well as reputation which his enemy would acquire by the marriage of his fon with the queen of fuch a powerful kingdom, was obvious and formidable. He eafily forefaw that the Englifh, notwithftanding all their fears and precautions, would be foon drawn in to take part in the quarrels on the continent, and be compelled to act in fubferviency to the emperor's ambitious fchemes. For this reafon, Henry had given it in charge to his ambaffador at the court of London, to employ all his addrefs in order to defeat or retard the treaty of marriage; and as there was not, at that time, any prince of the blood in France whom he could propofe to the queen as a hufband, he inftructed him to co-operate with fuch of the Englifh as wifhed their fovereign to marry one of her own fubjects. But the queen's ardour and precipitation in clofing with the firft overtures in favour of Philip, having ren-

* Godwin's Annals of Q. Mary ap. Kennet, v. ii. p. 329. Burnet's Hift. of Reform. ii. 298. 305.

† Carte's Hift. of England, iii. 314.

dered all his endeavours ineffectual, Henry was so far from thinking it prudent to give any aid to the English malecontents, though earnestly solicited by Wyat and their other leaders, who tempted him to take them under his protection, by offers of great advantage to France, that he commanded his ambassador to congratulate the queen in the warmest terms upon the suppression of the insurrection.

Notwithstanding these external professions, Henry dreaded so much the consequence of this alliance, which more than compensated for all the emperor had lost in Germany, that he determined to carry on his military operations, both in the Low-Countries and in Italy, with extraordinary vigour, in order that he might compel Charles to accept of an equitable peace, before his daughter-in-law could surmount the aversion of her subjects to a war on the continent, and prevail on them to assist the emperor either with money or troops. For this purpose he exerted himself to the utmost in order to have a numerous army early assembled on the frontiers of the Netherlands, and while one part of it laid waste the open country of Artois, the main body, under the constable Montmorency, advanced towards the provinces of Liege and Hainault by the forest of Ardennes.

The campaign was opened with the siege of Mariemburgh, a town which the queen of Hungary, the governess of the Low-Countries, had fortified at great expence; but, being destitute of a sufficient garrison, it surrendered in six days [June 28]. Henry, elated with this success, put himself at the head of his army, and investing Bouvines, took it by assault, after a short resistance. With equal facility he became master of Dinant; and then turning to the left, bent his march towards the province of Artois. The large sums which the emperor had remitted into England had so exhausted his treasury, as to render his preparations at this juncture slower and more dilatory than usual. He had no body of troops to make head against the French at their first entrance into his territories; and though he

drew together all the forces in the country in the utmoſt hurry, and gave the command of them to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, they were in no condition to face an enemy ſo far ſuperior in number. The prince of Savoy, however, by his activity and good conduct, made up for his want of troops. By watching all the motions of the French at a diſtance, and by chuſing his own poſts with ſkill, he put it out of their power either to form any ſiege of conſequence, or to attack him. Want of ſubſiſtence ſoon obliged them to fall back towards their own frontiers, after having burnt all the open towns, and having plundered the country through which they marched with a cruelty and licence more becoming a body of light troops than a royal army led by a great monarch.

But Henry, that he might not diſmiſs his army without attempting ſome conqueſt adequate to the great preparations, as well as ſanguine hopes, with which he had opened the campaign, inveſted Renti, a place deemed in that age of great importance, as, by its ſituation on the confines of Artois and the Boulonnois, it covered the former province, and protected the parties which made incurſions into the latter. The town which was ſtrongly fortified, and provided with a numerous garriſon, made a gallant defence; but being warmly preſſed by a powerful army, it muſt ſoon have yielded. The emperor, who at that time enjoyed a ſhort interval of eaſe from the gout, was ſo ſolicitous to ſave it, that, although he could bear no other motion but that of a litter, he inſtantly put himſelf at the head of his army, which, having received ſeveral reinforcements, was now ſtrong enough to approach the enemy. The French were eager to decide the fate of Renti by a battle, and expected it from the emperor's arrival in his camp; but Charles avoided a general action with great induſtry, and as he had nothing in view but to ſave the town, he hoped to accompliſh that, without expoſing himſelf to the conſequences of ſuch a dangerous and doubtful event.

Notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, a diſpute, about a poſt which both armies endeavoured to ſeize, brought on an engagement [Aug. 13.] which proved almoſt general. The duke of Guiſe, who commanded the wing of the French which ſtood the brunt of the combat, diſplayed valour and conduct worthy of the defender of Metz; the Imperialiſts after an obſtinate ſtruggle were repulſed; the French remained maſters of the poſt in diſpute, and if the conſtable, either from his natural caution and ſlowneſs, or from unwillingneſs to ſupport a rival whom he hated, had not delayed bringing up the main body to ſecond the impreſſion which Guiſe had made, the route of the enemy muſt have been complete. The emperor, notwithſtanding the loſs which he had ſuſtained, continued in the ſame camp; and the French, being ſtraitened for proviſions, and finding it impoſſible to carry on the ſiege in the face of an hoſtile army, quitted their intrenchments. They retired openly, courting the enemy to approach, rather than ſhunning an engagement.

But Charles, having gained his end, ſuffered them to march off unmoleſted. As ſoon as his troops entered their own country, Henry threw garriſons into the frontier towns, and diſmiſſed the reſt of the army. This encouraged the Imperialiſts to puſh forward with a conſiderable body of troops into Picardy, and by laying waſte the country with fire and ſword, they endeavoured to revenge themſelves for the ravages which the French had committed in Hainault and Artois*. But, as they were not able to reduce any place of importance, they gained nothing more than the enemy had done by this cruel and inglorious method of carrying on the war.

The arms of France were ſtill more unſucceſsful in Italy. The footing which the French had acquired in Sienna occaſioned much uneaſineſs to Coſmo di Medici, the moſt ſagacious and enterpriſing of all the Italian princes. He dread-

* Thuan. 460, &c. Haræi Ann. Brab. 674.

ed the neighbourhood of a powerful people, to whom all who favoured the ancient republican government in Florence would have recourſe, as to their natural protectors, againſt that abſolute authority which the emperor had enabled him to uſurp; he knew how odious he was to the French, on account of his attachment to the Imperial party, and he foreſaw that, if they were permitted to gather ſtrength in Sienna, Tuſcany would ſoon feel the effects of their reſentment. For theſe reaſons, he wiſhed with the utmoſt ſolicitude for the expulſion of the French out of the Sienneſe, before they had time to eſtabliſh themſelves thoroughly in the country, or to receive ſuch reinforcements from France as would render it dangerous to attack them. As this, however, was properly the emperor's buſineſs, who was called by his intereſt as well as honour to diſlodge thoſe formidable intruders into the heart of his dominions, Coſmo laboured to throw the whole burden of the enterpriſe on him; and on that account had given no aſſiſtance during the former campaign, but by advancing ſome ſmall ſums of money towards the payment of the Imperial troops.

But as the defence of the Netherlands engroſſed all the emperor's attention, and his remittances into England had drained his treaſury, it was obvious that his operations in Italy would be extremely feeble; and Coſmo plainly perceived, that if he himſelf did not take part openly in the war, and act with vigour, the French would ſcarcely meet with any annoyance. As his ſituation rendered this reſolution neceſſary and unavoidable, his next care was to execute it in ſuch a manner, that he might derive from it ſome other advantage, beſide that of driving the French out of his neighbourhood. With this view, he diſpatched an envoy to Charles, offering to declare war againſt France, and to reduce Sienna at his own charges, on condition that he ſhould be repaid whatever he ſhould expend in the enterpriſe, and be permitted to retain all his conqueſts until his demands were fully ſatisfied. Charles, to whom, at this juncture,

the war againſt Sienna was an intolerable burden, and who had neither expedient nor reſource that could enable him to carry it on with proper vigour, cloſed gladly with this overture; and Coſmo, well acquainted with the low ſtate of the Imperial finances, flattered himſelf that the emperor, finding it impoſſible to reimburſe him, would ſuffer him to keep quiet poſſeſſion of whatever places he ſhould conquer†.

Full of theſe hopes, he made great preparations for war, and as the French king had turned the ſtrength of his arms againſt the Netherlands, he did not deſpair of aſſembling ſuch a body of men as would prove more than a ſufficient match for any force which Henry could bring into the field in Italy. He endeavoured, by giving one of his daughters to the pope's nephew, to obtain aſſiſtance from the holy ſee, or at leaſt to ſecure his remaining neutral. He attempted to detach the duke of Orſini, whoſe family had been long attached to the French party, from his ancient confederates, by beſtowing on him another of his daughters; and what was of greater conſequence than either of theſe, he engaged John James Medecino, marquis of Marignano, to take the command of his army*. This officer, from a very low condition in life, had raiſed himſelf, through all the ranks of ſervice, to high command, and had diſplayed talents, and acquired reputation in war, which entitled him to be placed on a level with the greateſt generals in that martial age. Having attained a ſtation of eminence ſo diſproportionate to his birth, he laboured with a fond ſolicitude to conceal his original obſcurity, by giving out that he was deſcended of the family of Medici, to which honour the caſual reſemblance of his name was his only pretenſion. Coſmo, happy that he could gatify him at ſuch an eaſy rate, flattered his vanity in this point, acknowledged him as a relation, and permitted him to aſſume the arms of his family: Medecino, eager to ſerve the head of that family of which

† Adriani Iſtoria de ſuoi Tempi, vol. i. 662.
* Adriani Iſtoria, vol. i. p. 663.

he now confidered himfelf as a branch, applied with wonderful zeal and affiduity to raife troops; and as, during his long fervice, he had acquired great credit with the leaders of thofe mercenary bands which formed the ftrength of Italian armies, he engaged the moft eminent of them to follow Cofmo's ftandard.

To oppofe this able general, and the formidable army which he had affembled, the king of France made choice of Peter Strozzi, a Florentine nobleman, who had refided long in France as an exile, and who had rifen by his merit to high reputation, as well as command in the army. He was the fon of Philip Strozzi, who, in the year one thoufand five hundred and thirty-feven, had concurred with fuch ardour in the attempt to expel the family of Medici out of Florence, in order to re-eftablifh the ancient republican form of government; and who had perifhed in the undertaking. The fon inherited the implacable averfion to the Medici, as well as the fame enthufiaftic zeal for the liberty of Florence, which had animated his father, whofe death he was impatient to revenge. Henry flattered himfelf that his army would make rapid progrefs under a general whofe zeal to promote his intereft was roufed and feconded by fuch powerful paffions; efpecially as he had allotted him, for the fcene of action his native country, in which he had many powerful partifans, ready to facilitate all his operations.

But how fpecious foever the motives might appear which induced Henry to make this choice, it proved fatal to the interefts of France in Italy. Cofmo, as foon as he heard that the mortal enemy of his family was appointed to take the command in Tufcany, concluded that the king of France aimed at fomething more than the protection of the Siennefe, and faw the neceffity of making extraordinary efforts, not merely to reduce Sienna, but to fave himfelf from deftruction†. At the fame time, the cardinal of Ferrara, who had the entire direction of the French affairs in Italy, confidered Stroz-

† Pecci Memoire di Sienna, vol. iv. p. 103, &c.

zi as a formidable rival in power, and in order to prevent his acquiring any increaſe of authority from ſucceſs, he was extremely remiſs in ſupplying him either with money to pay his troops, or with proviſions to ſupport them. Strozzi himſelf, blinded by his reſentment againſt the Medici, puſhed on his operations with the impetuoſity of revenge, rather than with the caution and prudence becoming a great general.

At firſt, however, he attacked ſeveral towns in the territory of Florence with ſuch vigour as obliged Medecino, in order to check his progreſs, to withdraw the greater part of his army from Sienna, which he had inveſted before Strozzi's arrival in Italy. As Coſmo ſuſtained the whole burden of military operations, the expence of which muſt ſoon have exhauſted his revenues; as neither the viceroy of Naples nor governor of Milan were in condition to afford him any effectual aid; as the troops which Medecino had left in the camp before Sienna could attempt nothing againſt it during his abſence; it was Strozzi's buſineſs to have protracted the war, and to have transferred the ſeat of it into the territories of Florence. But the hope of ruining his enemy by one deciſive blow, precipitated him into a general engagement [Aug. 3] not far from Marciano. The armies were nearly equal in number; but a body of Italian cavalry, in which Strozzi placed great confidence, having fled without making any reſiſtance, either through the treachery or cowardice of the officers who commanded it, his infantry remained expoſed to the attacks of all Medecino's troops. Encouraged, however, by Strozzi's preſence and example, who, after receiving a dangerous wound in endeavouring to rally the cavalry, placed himſelf at the head of the infantry, and manifeſted an admirable preſence of mind, as well as extraordinary valour, they ſtood their ground with great firmneſs, and repulſed ſuch of the enemy as ventured to approach them. But thoſe gallant troops being ſurrounded at laſt on every ſide, and torn in pieces by a battery of can-

non which Medecino brought to bear upon them, the Florentine cavalry broke in on their flanks, and a general route ensued. Strozzi, faint with the loss of blood, and deeply affected with the fatal consequences of his own rashness, found the utmost difficulty in making his escape with a handful of men†.

Medecino returned immediately to the siege of Sienna with his victorious forces, and as Strozzi could not, after the greatest efforts of activity, collect as many men as to form the appearance of a regular army, he had leisure to carry on his approaches against the town without molestation. But the Siennese, instead of sinking into despair upon this cruel disappointment of their only hope of obtaining relief, prepared to defend themselves to the utmost extremity, with that undaunted fortitude which the love of liberty alone can inspire. This generous resolution was warmly seconded by Monluc, who commanded the French garrison in the town. The active and enterprising courage which he had displayed on many occasions, had procured him this command; and as he had ambition which aspired at the highest military dignities, without any pretensions to attain them but what he could derive from merit, he determined to distinguish his defence of Sienna by extraordinary efforts of valour and perseverance. For this purpose, he repaired and strengthened the fortifications with unwearied industry; he trained the citizens to the use of arms, and accustomed them to go through the fatigues and dangers of service in common with the soldiers; and as the enemy were extremely strick in guarding all the avenues to the city, he husbanded the provisions in the magazines with the most parsimonious economy, and prevailed on the soldiers, as well as the citizens, to restrict themselves to a very moderate daily allowance for their subsistence. Medecino, though his army was not numerous enough to storm the town by open force, ventured twice to assault it by surprise; but he was received

† Pecci Memoire della Sienna, vol. iv. p. 157.

each time with ſo much ſpirit, and repulſed with ſuch loſs, as diſcouraged him from repeating the attempt, and left him no hopes of reducing the town but by famine.

With this view he fortified his own camp with geat care, occupied all the poſts of ſtrength round the place, and having entirely cut off the beſieged from any communication with the adjacent country, he waited patiently until neceſſity ſhould compel them to open their gates. But their enthuſiaſtic zeal for liberty made the citizens deſpiſe the diſtreſſes occaſioned by the ſcarcity of proviſions, and ſupported them long under all the miſeries of famine: Monluc, by his example and exhortations, taught his ſoldiers to vie with them in patience and abſtinence; and it was not until they had withſtood a ſiege of ten months, until they had eaten up all the horſes, dogs, and other animals in the place, and were reduced almoſt to their laſt morſel of bread, that they propoſed a capitulation [1555.] Even then they demanded honourable terms; and as Coſmo, though no ſtranger to the extremity of their condition, was afraid that deſpair might prompt them to venture upon ſome wild enterpriſe, he immediately granted them conditions more favourable than they could have expected.

April 22.] The capitulation was made in the emperor's name, who engaged to take the republic of Sienna under the protection of the empire; he promiſed to maintain the ancient liberties of the city, to allow the magiſtrates the full exerciſe of their former authority, to ſecure the citizens in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their privileges and property; he granted an ample and unlimited pardon to all who had borne arms againſt him; he reſerved to himſelf the right of placing a garriſon in the town, but engaged not to rebuild the citadel without the conſent of the citizens. Monluc and his French garriſon were allowed to march out with all the honours of war.

Medecino obſerved the articles of capitulation, as far as depended on him, with great exactneſs. No violence or in-

ſult whatever was offered to the inhabitants, and the French garriſon was treated with all the reſpect due to their ſpirit and bravery. But many of the citizens ſuſpecting, from the extraordinary facility with which they had obtained ſuch favourable conditions, that the emperor, as well as Coſmo, would take the firſt opportunity of violating them, and diſdaining to poſſeſs a precarious liberty, which depended on the will of another, abandoned the place of their nativity, and accompanied the French to Monté-Alcino, Porto Ercole, and other ſmall towns in the territory of the republic. They eſtabliſhed in Monté-Alcino, the ſame model of government to which they had been accuſtomed at Sienna, and appointing magiſtrates with the ſame titles and juriſdiction, ſolaced themſelves with this image of their ancient liberty.

The fears of the Sienneſe concerning the fate of their country were not imaginary, or their ſuſpicion of the emperor and Coſmo ill-founded; for no ſooner had the Imperial troops taken poſſeſſion of the town, than Coſmo, without regarding the articles of capitulation, not only diſplaced the magiſtrates who were in office, and nominated new ones devoted to his own intereſt, but commanded all the citizens to deliver up their arms to perſons whom he appointed to receive them. They ſubmitted to the former from neceſſity, though with all the reluctance and regret which men accuſtomed to liberty feel in obeying the firſt commands of a maſter. They did not yield the ſame tame obedience to the latter; and many perſons of diſtinction, rather than degrade themſelves from the rank of freemen to the condition of ſlaves by ſurrendering their arms, fled to their countrymen at Monté-Alcino, and choſe to endure all the hardſhips, and encounter all the dangers which they had reaſon to expect in that new ſtation, where they had fixed the ſeat of their republic.

Coſmo, not reckoning himſelf ſecure while ſuch numbers

of implacable and desperate enemies were settled in his neighbourhood, and retained any degree of power, solicited Medecino to attack them in their different places of retreat, before they had time to recruit their strength and spirits, after the many calamities which they had suffered. He prevailed on him, though his army was much weakened by hard duty during the siege of Sienna, to invest Porto Ercole; and the fortifications being both slight and incomplete, the besieged were soon compelled to open their gates [June 13]. An unexpected order, which Medecino received from the emperor to detach the greater part of his troops into Piedmont, prevented farther operations, and permitted the Siennese exiles to reside for some time undisturbed in Monté-Alcino. But their unhappy countrymen who remained at Sienna were not yet at the end of their sufferings; for the emperor, instead of adhering to the articles of capitulation, granted his son Philip the investiture of that city and all its dependencies; and Francis de Toledo, in the name of their new master, proceeded to settle the civil and military government, treated them like a conquered people, and subjected them to the Spanish yoke, without paying any regard whatever to their privileges or ancient form of government *.

The Imperial army in Piedmont had been so feeble for some time, and its commander so inactive, that the emperor, in order to give vigour to his operations in that quarter, found it necessary not only to recal Medecino's troops from Tuscany, while in the career of conquest, but to employ in Piedmont a general of such reputation and abilities, as might counterbalance the great military talents of the marechal Brissac, who was at the head of the French forces in that country.

He pitched on the duke of Alva for that purpose; but

* Sleid. 617. Thuan. lib. xv. 526, 537. Joan. Camerarii adnot. rer. præcipuarum ab anno 1550 ad 1561 ap. Freherum, vol. iii. p. 564. Pecci Memorie della Sienna, iv. 64, &c.

that choice was as much the effect of a court intrigue, as of his opinion with respect to the duke's merit. Alva had long made court to Philip with the utmost assiduity, and had endeavoured to work himself into his confidence by all the insinuating arts of which his haughty and inflexible nature was capable. As he nearly resembled that prince in many features of his character, he began to gain much of his good-will. Ruy Gomez de Silva, Philip's favourite, who dreaded the progress which this formidable rival made in his master's affections, had the address to prevail with the emperor to name Alva to this command. The duke, tho' sensible that he owed this distinction to the malicious arts of an enemy, who had no other aim than to remove him at a distance from court, was of such punctilious honour, that he would not decline a command that appeared dangerous and difficult, but, at the same time, was so haughty, that he would not accept of it but on his own terms, insisting on being appointed the emperor's vicar-general in Italy, with the supreme military command in all the Imperial and Spanish territories in that country. Charles granted all his demands; and he took possession of his new dignity with almost unlimited authority.

His first operations, however, were neither proportioned to his former reputation and the extensive powers with which he was invested, nor did they come up to the emperor's expectations. Brissac had under his command an army which, though inferior in number to the Imperialists, was composed of chosen troops, which having grown old in service in that country, where every town was fortified, and every castle capable of being defended, were perfectly acquainted with the manner of carrying on war there. By their valour, and his own good conduct, Brissac not only defeated all the attempts of the Imperialists, but added new conquests to the territories of which he was formerly master. Alva, after having boasted, with his usual arrogance, that he would drive the French out of Piedmont, in a few weeks, was obliged to retire into

winter-quarters, with the mortification of being unable to preferve entire that part of the country of which the emperor had hitherto kept poffeffion*.

As the operations of this campaign in Piedmont were indecifive, thofe in the Netherlands were inconfiderable, neither the emperor nor king of France being able to bring into the field an army ftrong enough to undertake any enterprife of moment. But what Charles wanted in force, he endeavoured to fupply by a bold ftratagem, the fuccefs of which would have been equal to that of the moft vigorous campaign. During the fiege of Metz, Leonard, father guardian of a convent of Francifcans in that city, had infinuated himfelf far into the efteem and favour of the duke of Guife, by his attachment to the French. Being a man of an active and intriguing fpirit, he had been extremely ufeful both in animating the inhabitants to fuftain with patience all the hardfhips of the fiege, and in procuring intelligence of the enemies defigns and motions. The merit of thofe important fervices, together with the warm recommendations of the duke of Guife, fecured him fuch high confidence with Vielleville, who was appointed governor of Metz when Guife left the town, that he was permitted to converfe or correfpond with whatever perfons he thought fit, and nothing that he did created any fufpicion. This monk, from the levity natural to bold and projecting adventurers; or from refentment againft the French, who had not beftowed on him fuch rewards as he thought due to his own merit; or tempted by the unlimited confidence which was placed in him, to imagine that he might carry on and accomplifh any fcheme with perfect fecurity, formed a defign of betraying Metz to the Imperialifts.

He communicated his intention to the queen-dowager of Hungary, who governed the Low-Countries in the name of her brother. She approving without any fcruple, an act of treachery, from which the emperor might derive fuch

* Thuan. lib. xv. 529. Guichenon Hift. de Savoye, tom. i. 670.

ſignal advantage, aſſiſted the father guardian in concerting the moſt proper plan for enſuring its ſucceſs. They agreed, that the father guardian ſhould endeavour to gain his monks to concur in promoting the deſign; that he ſhould introduce into the convent a certain number of choſen ſoldiers, diſguiſed in the habit of friars; that when every thing was ripe for execution, the governor of Thionville ſhould march towards Metz in the night with a conſiderable body of troops, and attempt to ſcale the ramparts; that while the garriſon was employed in reſiſting the aſſailants, the monks ſhould ſet fire to the town in different places; that the ſoldiers who lay concealed ſhould ſally out of the convent, and attack thoſe who defended the ramparts in the rear. Amidſt the univerſal terror and confuſion which events ſo unexpected would occaſion, it was not doubted but that the Imperialiſts might become maſters of the town. As a recompence for this ſervice the father guardian, ſtipulated that he ſhould be appointed biſhop of Metz, and ample rewards were promiſed to ſuch of his monks as ſhould be moſt active in co-operating with him.

The farther guardian accompliſhed what he had undertaken to perform with great ſecrecy and diſpatch. By his authority and arguments, as well as by the proſpect of wealth or honours which he ſet before his monks, he prevailed on all of them to enter into the conſpiracy. He introduced into the convent, without being ſuſpected, as many ſoldiers as were thought ſufficient. The governor of Thionville, apprized in due time of the deſign, had aſſembled a proper number of troops for executing it; and the moment approached, which probably would have wreſted from Henry the moſt important of all his conqueſts.

But, happily for France, on the very day that was fixed for ſtriking the blow, Vielleville, an able and vigilant officer, received information from a ſpy whom he entertained at Thionville, that certain Franciſcan friars reſorted frequently thither and were admitted to many private conferences

with the governor, who was carrying on preparations for ſome military enterpriſe with great diſpatch, but with a moſt myſterious ſecrecy. This was ſufficient to awaken Vielleville's ſuſpicions. Without communicating theſe to any perſon, he inſtantly viſited the convent of Franciſcans; detected the ſoldiers who were concealed there; and forced them to diſcover as much as they knew concerning the nature of the enterpriſe. The father guardian, who had gone to Thionville that he might put the laſt hand to his machinations, was ſeized at the gate as he returned; and he, in order to ſave himſelf from the rack, revealed all the circumſtances of the conſpiracy.

Vielleville, not ſatisfied with having ſeized the traitors, and having fruſtrated their ſchemes, was ſolicitous to take advantage of the diſcoveries which he had made, ſo as to be revenged on the Imperialiſts. For this purpoſe he marched out with the beſt troops in his garriſon, and placing theſe in ambuſh near the road, by which the father guardian had informed him that the governor of Thionville would approach Metz, he fell upon the Imperialiſts with great fury, as they advanced in perfect ſecurity, without ſuſpecting any danger to be near. Confounded at this ſudden attack, by an enemy whom they expected to ſurpriſe, they made little reſiſtance; and a great part of the troops employed in this ſervice, among whom were many perſons of diſtinction, was killed or taken priſoners. Before next morning, Vielleville returned to Metz in triumph.

No reſolution was taken for ſome time concerning the fate of the father guardian and his monks, the framers and conductors of this dangerous conſpiracy. Regard for the honour of a body ſo numerous and reſpectable as the Franciſcans, and unwillingneſs to afford a ſubject of triumph to the enemies of the Romiſh church by their diſgrace, ſeem to have occaſioned this delay. But at length, the neceſſity of inflicting exemplary puniſhment upon them, in order to deter others from venturing to commit the ſame crime, be-

came fo evident, that orders were iffued to proceed to their trial. The guilt was made apparent by the cleareft evidence; and fentence of death was paffed upon the father guardian, together with twenty monks. On the evening previous to the day fixed for their execution, the gaoler took them out of the dungeons in which they had hitherto been confined feparately, and fhut them all up in one great room, that they might confefs their fins to one another, and join together in preparing for a future ftate. But as foon as they were left alone, inftead of employing themfelves in the religious exercifes fuitable to their condition, they began to reproach the father guardian, and four of the fenior monks who had been moft active in feducing them, for their inordinate ambition, which had brought fuch mifery on them, and fuch difgrace upon their order. From reproaches they proceeded to curfes and execrations, and at laft, in a frenzy of rage and defpair, they fell upon them with fuch violence, that they murdered the father guardian on the fpot, and fo difabled the other four, that it became neceffary to carry them next morning in a cart, together with the dead body of the father guardian, to the place of execution. Six of the youngeft were pardoned, the reft fuffered the punifhment which their crime merited†.

Though both parties, exhaufted by the length of the war, carried it on in this languifhing manner, neither of them fhewed any difpofition to liften to overtures of peace. Cardinal Pole indeed laboured with all the zeal becoming his piety and humanity, to re-eftablifh concord among the princes of Chriftendom. He had not only perfuaded his miftrefs, the queen of England, to enter warmly into his fentiments, and to offer her mediation to the contending powers, but had prevailed both on the emperor and the king of France to fend their plenipotentiaries to a village

† Thuan. lib. xv. p. 522. Belcar. Com. Rer. Gal. 866. Memoirs du Marech. Vielleville, par M. Charloix, tom iii. p. 249, &c. p. 347. Par. 1757.

between Gravelines and Ardres. He himſelf, together with Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, repaired thither in order to preſide as mediators in the conferences which were to be held for adjuſting all the points in difference. But though each of the monarchs committed this negotiation to ſome of their miniſters, in whom they placed the greateſt confidence, it was ſoon evident that they came together with no ſincere deſire of accommodation. [May 21] Each propoſed articles ſo extravagant that they could have no hopes of their being accepted. Pole, after exerting in vain all his zeal and addreſs, in order to perſuade them to relinquiſh ſuch extravagant demands, and to conſent to the ſubſtitution of more equal conditions, became ſenſible of the folly of waſting time, in attempting to re-eſtabliſh concord between thoſe whom their obſtinacy rendered irreconcilable, broke off the conference, and returned into England‡.

During theſe tranſactions in other parts of Europe, Germany enjoyed ſuch profound tranquillity, as afforded the diet full leiſure to deliberate, and to eſtabliſh proper regulations concerning a point of the greateſt conſequence to the internal peace of the empire. By the treaty of Paſſau in one thouſand five hundred and fifty-two, it had been referred to the next diet of the empire to confirm and perfect the plan of religious pacification, which was there agreed upon. The terror and confuſion with which the violent commotions excited by Albert of Brandenburg had filled Germany, as well as the conſtant attention which Ferdinand was obliged to give to the affairs of Hungary, had hitherto prevented the holding a diet, though it had been ſummoned, ſoon after the concluſion of the treaty, to meet at Augſburg.

But as a diet was now neceſſary on many accounts, Ferdinand about the beginning of this year had repaired to Augſburg. Though few of the princes were preſent either in perſon or by their deputies, he opened the aſſembly by

‡ Thuan. lib. xv. p. 523. Mem. de Ribier, tom. ii. p. 613.

a ſpeech, in which he propoſed a termination of the diſſenſions to which the new tenets and controverſies with regard to religion had given riſe, not only as the firſt and great buſineſs of the diet, but as the point which both the emperor and he had moſt at heart. He repreſented the innumerable obſtacles which the emperor had to ſurmount before he could procure the convocation of a general council, as well as the fatal accidents which had for ſome time retarded, and had at laſt ſuſpended the conſultations of that aſſembly. He obſerved, that experience had already taught them how vain it was to expect any remedy for evils which demanded immediate redreſs from a general council, the aſſembly of which would either be prevented, or its deliberations be interrupted by the diſſenſions and hoſtilities of the princes of Chriſtendom: that a national council in Germany, which, as ſome imagined, might be called with greater eaſe, and deliberate with more perfect ſecurity, was an aſſembly of an unprecedented nature, the juriſdiction of which was uncertain in its extent, and the form of its proceedings undefined: that in his opinion there remained but one method for compoſing their unhappy differences, which though it had been often tried without ſucceſs, might yet prove effectual if it were attempted with a better and more pacific ſpirit than had appeared on former occaſions, and that was to chuſe a few men of learning, abilities, and moderation, who, by diſcuſſing the diſputed articles, in an amicable conference, might explain them in ſuch a manner as to bring the contending parties either to unite in ſentiment, or to differ with charity.

This ſpeech being printed in common form, and diſperſed over the empire, revived the fears and jealouſies of the proteſtants; Ferdinand, they obſerved with much ſurpriſe, had not once mentioned, in his addreſs to the diet, the treaty of Paſſau, the ſtipulations which they conſidered as the great ſecurity of their religious liberty. The ſuſpicions to which this gave riſe were confirmed by the accounts which they

daily received of the extreme ſeverity with which Ferdinand treated their proteſtant brethren in his hereditary dominions, and, as it was natural to conſider his actions as the ſureſt indication of his intentions, this diminiſhed their confidence in thoſe pompous profeſſions of moderation or of zeal for the re-eſtabliſhment of concord, to which his practice ſeemed to be ſo repugnant.

The arrival of the cardinal Morone, whom the pope had appointed to attend the diet as his nuncio, completed their conviction, and left them no room to doubt that ſome dangerous machination was forming againſt the peace or ſafety of the proteſtant church. Julius, elated with the unexpected return of the Engliſh nation from apoſtaſy, began to flatter himſelf, that the ſpirit of mutiny and revolt having now ſpent its force, the happy period was come when the church might reſume its ancient authority, and be obeyed by the people with the ſame tame ſubmiſſion as formerly. Full of theſe hopes he had ſent Morone to Augſburg, with inſtructions to employ his eloquence to excite the Germans to imitate the laudable example of the Engliſh, and his political addreſs in order to prevent any decree of the diet to the detriment of the catholic faith. As Morone inherited from his father, the chancellor of Milan, uncommon talents for negotiation and intrigue, he could hardly have failed of embarraſſing the meaſures of the proteſtants in the diet, or of defeating whatever they aimed at obtaining in it for their farther ſecurity.

But an unforeſeen event delivered them from all the danger which they had reaſon to apprehend from Morone's preſence. Julius, by abandoning himſelf to pleaſures and amuſements, no leſs unbecoming his age than his character, having contracted ſuch habits of diſſipation, that any ſerious occupation, eſpecially if attended with difficulty, became an intolerable burden to him, had long reſiſted the ſolicitations of his nephew to hold a conſiſtory, becauſe he expected there a violent oppoſition to his ſchemes in favour of

that young man. But when all the pretexts which he could invent for eluding this requeſt were exhauſted, and at the ſame time his indolent averſion to buſineſs continued to grow upon him, he feigned indiſpoſition rather than yield to his nephew's importunity; and that he might give the deceit a greater colour of probability, he not only confined himſelf to his apartment, but changed his uſual diet and manner of life. By perſiſting too long in acting this ridiculous part, he contracted a real diſeaſe, of which he died in a few days [March 23,] leaving his infamous minion the cardinal de Monte to bear his name, and to diſgrace the dignity which he had conferred upon him*. As ſoon as Morone heard of his death, he ſet out abruptly from Augſburg, where he had reſided only a few days, that he might be preſent at the election of a new pontiff.

One cauſe of their ſuſpicions and fears being thus removed, the proteſtants ſoon became ſenſible that their conjectures concerning Ferdinand's intentions, however ſpecious, were ill-founded, and that he had no thoughts of violating the articles favourable to them in the treaty of Paſſau. Charles, from the time that Maurice had defeated all his ſchemes in the empire, and overturned the great ſyſtem of religious and civil deſpotiſm, which he had almoſt eſtabliſhed there, gave little attention to the internal government of Germany, and permitted his brother to purſue whatever meaſures he judged moſt ſalutary and expedient. Ferdinand, leſs ambitious and enterpriſing than the emperor, inſtead of reſuming a plan which he, with power and reſources ſo far ſuperior had failed of accompliſhing, endeavoured to attach the princes of the empire to his family by an adminiſtration uniformly moderate and equitable. To this he gave, at preſent, particular attention, becauſe his ſituation at this juncture rendered it neceſſary to court their favour and ſupport with more than uſual aſſiduity.

* Onuphr. Panvinius de Vitis Pontificum, p. 320. Thuan. lib. xv. 517.

Charles had again resumed his favourite project of acquiring the Imperial crown for his son Philip, the prosecution of which, the reception it had met with when first proposed had obliged him to suspend, but had not induced him to relinquish. This led him warmly to renew his request to his brother that he would accept of some compensation for his prior right of succession, and sacrifice that to the grandeur of the house of Austria. Ferdinand, who was as little disposed as formerly to give such an extraordinary proof of self-denial, being sensible that, in order to defeat this scheme, not only the most inflexible firmness on his part, but a vigorous declaration from the princes of the empire in behalf of his title, were requisite, was willing to purchase their favour by gratifying them in every point that they deemed interesting or essential.

At the same time he stood in need of immediate and extraordinary aid from the Germanic body, as the Turks, after having wrested from him great part of his Hungarian territories, were ready to attack the provinces still subject to his authority with a formidable army, against which he could bring no equal force into the field. For this aid from Germany he could not hope, if the internal peace of the empire were not established on a foundation solid in itself, and which should appear, even to the protestants, so secure and so permanent, as might not only allow them to engage in a distant war with safety, but might encourage them to act in it with vigour.

A step taken by the protestants themselves, a short time after the opening of the diet, rendered him still more cautious of giving them any new cause of offence. As soon as the publication of Ferdinand's speech awakened the fears and suspicions which have been mentioned, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, together with the landgrave of Hesse, met at Naumburgh, and confirming the ancient treaty of confraternity which had long united their families, they added to it a new article, by which the contracting

parties bound themſelves to adhere to the confeſſion of Augſburg, and to maintain the doctrine which it contained in their reſpective dominions†.

Ferdinand, influenced by all theſe conſiderations, employed his utmoſt addreſs in conducting the deliberations of the diet, ſo as not to excite the jealouſy of a party on whoſe friendſhip he depended, and whoſe enmity, as they had not only taken the alarm, but had begun to prepare for their defence, he had ſo much reaſon to dread. The members of the diet readily agreed to Ferdinand's propoſal of taking the ſtate of religion into conſideration, previous to any other buſineſs. But as ſoon as they entered upon it, both parties diſcovered all the zeal and animoſity which a ſubject ſo intereſting naturally engenders, and which the rancour of controverſy, together with the violence of civil war, had inflamed to the higheſt pitch.

The proteſtants contended, that the ſecurity which they claimed in conſequence of the treaty of Paſſau ſhould extend, without limitation, to all who had hitherto embraced the doctrine of Luther, or who ſhould hereafter embrace it. The catholics, having firſt of all aſſerted the pope's right as the ſupreme and final judge with reſpect to all articles of faith, declared, that though, on account of the preſent ſituation of the empire, for the ſake of peace, they were willing to confirm the toleration granted by the treaty of Paſſau, to ſuch as had already adopted the new opinions; they muſt inſiſt that this indulgence ſhould not be extended either to thoſe cities which had conformed to the Interim, or to ſuch eccleſiaſtics as ſhould for the future apoſtatiſe from the church of Rome. It was no eaſy matter to reconcile ſuch oppoſite pretenſions, which were ſupported, on each ſide, by the moſt elaborate arguments, and the greateſt acrimony of expreſſion, that the abilities or zeal of theologians long exercifed in diſputation could ſuggeſt. Ferdinand, however, by his addreſs and perſeverance; by ſoftening ſome things on

† Chytræi Saxonia, 480.

each ſide; by putting a favourable meaning upon others; by repreſenting inceſſantly the neceſſity as well as the advantages of concord; and by threatening, on ſome occaſions, when all other conſiderations were diſregarded, to diſſolve the diet, brought them at length to a concluſion in which they all agreed.

Conformably to this, a receſs was framed, approved of and publiſhed with the uſual formalities [Sept. 25.] The following are the chief articles which it contained: That ſuch princes and cities as have declared their approbation of the confeſſion of Augſburg, ſhall be permitted to profeſs the doctrine and exerciſe the worſhip which it authoriſes, without interruption or moleſtation from the emperor, the king of the Romans, or any power or perſon whatſoever; That the proteſtants, on their part, ſhall give no diſquiet to the princes and ſtates who adhere to the tenets and rites of the church of Rome; That, for the future, no attempt ſhall be made towards terminating religious differences, but by the gentle and pacific methods of perſuaſion and conference; That the popiſh eccleſiaſtics ſhall claim no ſpiritual juriſdiction in ſuch ſtates as receive the confeſſion of Augſburg; That ſuch as had ſeized the benefices or revenues of the church, previous to the treaty of Paſſau, ſhall retain poſſeſſion of them, and be liable to no proſecution in the Imperial chamber on that account; That the ſupreme civil power in every ſtate ſhall have right to eſtabliſh what form of doctrine and worſhip it ſhall deem proper, and if any of its ſubjects refuſe to conform to theſe, ſhall permit them to remove with all their effects whitherſoever they ſhall pleaſe; That if any prelate or eccleſiaſtic ſhall hereafter abandon the Romiſh religion, he ſhall inſtantly relinquiſh his dioceſe or benefice, and it ſhall be lawful for thoſe in whom the right of nomination is veſted, to proceed immediately to an election, as if the office were vacant by death or tranſlation, and to appoint a ſucceſſor of undoubted attachment to the ancient ſyſtem†.

† Sleid. 620. F. Paul, 368. Pallav. p. II. 161.

Such are the capital articles in this famous recefs, which is the bafis of religious peace in Germany, and the bond of union among its various ftates, the fentiments of which are fo extremely different with refpect to points the moft interefting as well as important. In our age and nation, to which the idea of toleration is familiar, and its beneficial effects well known, it may feem ftrange, that a method of terminating their diffenfions, fo fuitable to the mild and charitable fpirit of the Chriftian religion, did not fooner occur to the contending parties. But this expedient, however falutary, was fo repugnant to the fentiments and practice of Chriftians during many ages, that it did not lie obvious to difcovery. Among the ancient heathens, all whofe deities were local and tutelary, diverfity of fentiment concerning the object or rites of religious worfhip feems to have been no fource of animofity, becaufe the acknowledging veneration to be due to any one God, did not imply denial of the exiftence or the power of any other God; nor were the modes and rites of worfhip eftablifhed in one country incompatible with thofe which other nations approved of and obferved. Thus the errors in their fyftem of theology were of fuch a nature as to be productive of concord; and notwithftanding the amazing number of their deities, as well as the infinite variety of their ceremonies, a fociable and tolerating fpirit fubfifted almoft univerfally in the pagan world.

But when the Chriftian revelation declared one Supreme Being to be the fole object of religious veneration, and prefcribed the form of worfhip moft acceptable to him, whoever admitted the truth of it held, of confequence, every other fyftem of religion, as a deviation from what was eftablifhed by divine authority, to be falfe and impious. Hence arofe the zeal of the firft converts to the Chriftian faith in propagating its doctrines, and the ardour with which they laboured to overturn every other form of worfhip. They employed, however, for this purpofe, no methods but fuch as fuited the nature of religion. By the force of power-

ful arguments, they convinced the underſtandings of men; by the charms of ſuperior virtue, they allured and captivated their hearts. At length the civil power declared in favour of Chriſtianity; and though numbers, imitating the example of their ſuperiors, crowded into the church, many ſtill adhered to their ancient ſuperſtitions. Enraged at their obſtinacy, the miniſters of religion, whoſe zeal was ſtill unabated, though their ſanctity and virtue were much diminiſhed, forgot ſo far the nature of their own miſſion, and of the arguments which they ought to have employed, that they armed the Imperial power againſt theſe unhappy men, and as they could not perſuade, they tried to compel them to believe.

At the ſame time, controverſies concerning articles of faith multiplied, from various cauſes, among Chriſtians themſelves, and the ſame unhallowed weapons which had firſt been uſed againſt the enemies of their religion, were turned againſt each other. Every zealous diſputant endeavoured to intereſt the civil magiſtrate in his cauſe, and each in his turn employed the ſecular arm to cruſh or to exterminate his opponents. Not long after, the biſhops of Rome put in their claim to infallibility in explaining articles of faith, and deciding points in controverſy; and, bold as the pretenſion was, they by their artifices and perſeverance, impoſed on the credulity of mankind, and brought them to recogniſe it. To doubt or to deny any doctrine to which theſe unerring inſtructors had given the ſanction of their approbation, was held to be not only a reſiſting of truth, but an act of rebellion againſt their ſacred authority; and the ſecular power, of which by various arts they had acquired the abſolute direction, was inſtantly employed to avenge both.

Thus Europe had been accuſtomed, during many centuries, to ſee ſpeculative opinions propagated or defended by force; the charity and mutual forbearance which Chriſtianity recommends with ſo much warmth, were forgotten, the ſacred rights of conſcience and of private judgement were

unheard of, and not only the idea of toleration, but even the word itself, in the ſenſe now affixed to it, was unknown. A right to extirpate error by force was univerſally allowed to be the prerogative of ſuch as poſſeſſed the knowledge of truth; and as each party of Chriſtians believed that they had got poſſeſſion of this invaluable attainment, they all claimed and exerciſed, as far as they were able, the rights which it was ſuppoſed to convey. The Roman catholics, as their ſyſtem reſted on the deciſions of an infallible judge, never doubted that truth was on their ſide, and openly called on the civil power to repel the impious and heretical innovators who had riſen up againſt it. The proteſtants, no leſs confident that their doctrine was well founded, required, with equal ardour, the princes of their party to check ſuch as preſumed to impugn it. Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the reformed church in their reſpective countries, as far as they had power and opportunity, inflicted the ſame puniſhments upon ſuch as called in queſtion any article in their creeds, which were denounced againſt their own diſciples by the church of Rome. To their followers, and perhaps to their opponents, it would have appeared a ſyſtem of diffidence in the goodneſs of their cauſe, or an acknowledgment that it was not well founded, if they had not employed in its defence all thoſe means which it was ſuppoſed truth had a right to employ.

It was towards the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century before toleration, under its preſent form, was admitted firſt into the republic of the United Provinces, and from thence introduced into England. Long experience of the calamities flowing from mutual perſecution, the influence of free government, the light and humanity acquired by the progreſs of ſcience, together with the prudence and authority of the civil magiſtrate, were all requiſite in order to eſtabliſh a regulation, ſo repugnant to the ideas which all the different ſects had adopted, from miſtaken conceptions concerning the nature of religion and the rights of truth, or which

all of them had derived from the erroneous maxims eſtabliſhed by the church of Rome.

The receſs of Augſburg, it is evident, was founded on no ſuch liberal and enlarged ſentiments concerning freedom of religious inquiry, or the nature of toleration. It was nothing more than a ſcheme of pacification, which political conſiderations alone had ſuggeſted to the contending parties, and regard for their mutual tranquillity and ſafety had rendered neceſſary. Of this there can be no ſtronger proof than an article in the receſs itſelf, by which the benefits of the pacification are declared to extend only to the catholics on the one ſide, and to ſuch as adhered to the confeſſion of Augſburg on the other. The followers of Zuinglius and Calvin remained, in conſequence of that excluſion, without any protection from the rigour of the laws denounced againſt heretics. Nor did they obtain any legal ſecurity, until the treaty of Weſtphalia, near a century after this period, provided, that they ſhould be admitted to enjoy, in as ample a manner as the Lutherans, all the advantages and protection which the receſs of Augſburg affords.

But if the followers of Luther were highly pleaſed with the ſecurity which they acquired by this receſs, ſuch as adhered to the ancient ſyſtem had no leſs reaſon to be ſatisfied with that article in it, which preſerved entire to the Roman catholic church the benefices of ſuch eccleſiaſtics as ſhould hereafter renounce its doctrines. This article, known in Germany by the name of the *Eccleſiaſtical Reſervation*, was apparently ſo conformable to the idea and to the rights of an eſtabliſhed church, and it ſeemed ſo equitable to prevent revenues, which had been originally appropriated for the maintenance of perſons attached to a certain ſyſtem, from being alienated to any other purpoſe, that the proteſtants, though they foreſaw its conſequences, were obliged to relinquiſh their oppoſition to it. As the Roman catholic princes of the empire have taken care to ſee this article exactly obſerved in every caſe where there was an opportunity

of putting it in execution, it has proved the great barrier of the Romish church in Germany against the reformation; and as, from this period, the same temptation of interest did not allure ecclesiastics to relinquish the established system, there have been few of that order, who have loved truth with such disinterested and ardent affection, as, for its sake, to abandon the rich benefices which they had in possession.

During the sitting of the diet [April 9.] Marcellus Cervino, cardinal of St. Croce, was elected pope in the room of Julius. He, in imitation of Adrian, did not change his name on being exalted to the papal chair. As he equalled that pontiff in purity of intention, while he excelled him much in the arts of government, and still more in knowledge of the state and genius of the papal court; as he had capacity to discern what reformation it needed, as well as what it could bear; such regulations were expected from his virtue and wisdom, as would have removed many of its grossest and most flagrant corruptions, and have contributed towards reconciling to the church such as, from indignation at these enormities, had abandoned its communion. But this excellent pontiff was only shewn to the church, and immediately snatched away. The confinement in the conclave had impaired his health, and the fatigue of tedious ceremonies upon his accession, together with too intense and anxious application of mind to the schemes of improvement which he meditated, exhausted so entirely the vigour of his feeble constitution, that he sickened on the twelfth, and died on the twentieth day after his election*.

All the refinements in artifice and intrigue, peculiar to conclaves, were displayed in that which was held for electing a successor to Marcellus; the cardinals of the Imperial and French factions labouring, with equal ardour, to gain the necessary number of suffrages for one of their own party. But, after a struggle of no long duration, though con-

* Thuan. 520. F. Paul, 365. Onuph. Panvin. 321, &c.

ducted with all the warmth and eagerneſs natural to men contending for ſo great an object, they united in chuſing John Peter Caraffa [May 23,] the eldeſt member of the ſacred college, and the ſon of count Montorio, a nobleman of an illuſtrious family in the kingdom of Naples. The addreſs and influence of cardinal Farneſe, who favoured his pretenſions, Caraffa's own merit, and perhaps his great age, which ſoothed all the diſappointed candidates with the near proſpect of a new vacancy, concurred in bringing about this ſpeedy union of ſuffrages. In order to teſtify his reſpect for the memory of Paul III. by whom he had been created cardinal, as well as his gratitude to the family of Farneſe, he aſſumed the name of Paul IV.

The choice of a prelate of ſuch a ſingular character, and who had long held a courſe extremely different from that which uſually led to the dignity now conferred upon him, filled the Italians, who had neareſt acceſs to obſerve his manners and deportment, with aſtoniſhment, and kept them in ſuſpenſe and ſolicitude with regard to his future conduct. Paul, though born in a rank of life which, without any other merit, might have ſecured to him the higheſt eccleſiaſtical preferments, had, from his early years, applied to ſtudy with all the aſſiduity of a man who had nothing but his perſonal attainments to render him conſpicuous. By means of this, he not only acquired profound ſkill in ſcholaſtic theology, but added to that a conſiderable knowledge of the learned languages and of polite literature, the ſtudy of which had been lately revived in Italy, and was purſued at this time with great ardour. His mind, however, naturally gloomy and ſevere, was more formed to imbibe the ſour ſpirit of the former, than to receive any tincture of elegance or liberality of ſentiment from the latter; ſo that he acquired rather the qualities and paſſions of a recluſe eccleſiaſtic, than the talents neceſſary for the conduct of great affairs. Accordingly, when he entered into orders, although ſeveral rich benefices were beſtowed upon him, and he was

early employed as nuncio in different courts, he ſoon became diſguſted with that courſe of life, and languiſhed to be in a ſituation more ſuited to his taſte and temper. With this view, he reſigned at once all his eccleſiaſtical preferments; and having inſtituted an order of regular prieſts, whom he denominated Theatines, from the name of the archbiſhopric which he had held, he aſſociated himſelf as a member of their fraternity, conformed to all the rigorous rules to which he had ſubjected them, and preferred the ſolitude of a monaſtic life, with the honour of being the founder of a new order, to all the great objects which the court of Rome preſented to his ambition.

In this retreat he remained for many years, until Paul III. induced by the fame of his ſanctity and knowledge, called him to Rome, in order to conſult with him concerning the meaſures which might be moſt proper and effectual for ſuppreſſing hereſy, and re-eſtabliſhing the ancient authority of the church. Having thus allured him from his ſolitude, the pope, partly by his entreaties, and partly by his authority, prevailed on him to accept of a cardinal's hat, to re-aſſume the benefices which he had reſigned, and to return again into the uſual path of eccleſiaſtical ambition which he ſeemed to have relinquiſhed. But, during two ſucceſſive pontificates, under the firſt of which the court of Rome was the moſt artful and intereſted, and under the ſecond the moſt diſſolute of any in Europe, Caraffa retained his monaſtic auſterity. He was an avowed and bitter enemy not only of all innovation in opinion, but of every irregularity in practice; he was the chief inſtrument in eſtabliſhing the formidable and odious tribunal of the inquiſition in the papal territories; he appeared a violent advocate on all occaſions for the juriſdiction and diſcipline of the church, and a ſevere cenſurer of every meaſure which ſeemed to flow from motives of policy or intereſt, rather than from zeal for the honour of the eccleſiaſtical order, and the dignity of the holy ſee. Under a prelate of ſuch a character, the Roman

courtiers expected a severe and violent pontificate, during which the principles of sound policy would be sacrificed to the narrow prejudices of priestly zeal; while the people of Rome were apprehensive of seeing the sordid and forbidding rigour of monastic manners substituted in place of the gaiety or magnificence to which they had long been accustomed in the papal court. These apprehensions Paul was extremly solicitous to remove. At his first entrance upon the administration, he laid aside that austerity which had hitherto distinguished his person and family, and when the master of his household inquired in what manner he would chuse to live, he haughtily replied, "As becomes a great prince." He ordered the ceremony of his coronation to be conducted with more than usual pomp; and endeavoured to render himself popular by several acts of liberality and indulgence towards the inhabitants of Rome†.

His natural severity of temper, however, would have soon returned upon him, and would have justified the conjectures of the courtiers, as well as the fears of the people, if he had not, immediately after his election, called to Rome two of his nephews, the sons of his brother the count of Montorio. The eldest he promoted to be governor of Rome. The youngest, who had hitherto served as a soldier of fortune in the armies of Spain or France, and whose disposition as well as manners were still more foreign from the clerical character than his profession, he created a cardinal, and appointed him legate of Bologna, the second office in power and dignity which a pope can bestow. These marks of favour, no less sudden than extravagant, he accompanied with the most unbounded confidence and attachment, and forgetting all his former severe maxims, he seemed to have no other object than the aggrandizement of his nephews. Their ambition, unfortunately for Paul, was too aspiring to be satisfied with any moderate acquisition. They had seen the family of Medici raised by the interest of the popes of that house to su-

† Platina, p. 327. Castaldo Vita di Paolo IV. Rom. 1615, p. 70.

preme power in Tuſcany; Paul III. had, by his abilities and addreſs, ſecured the dutchies of Parma and Placentia to the family of Farneſe. They aimed at ſome eſtabliſhment for themſelves, no leſs conſiderable and independent; and as they could not expect that the pope would carry his indulgence towards them ſo far as to ſecularize any part of the patrimony of the church, they had no proſpect of attaining what they wiſhed, but by diſmembering the Imperial dominions in Italy, in hopes of ſeizing ſome portion of them. This alone they would have deemed a ſufficient reaſon for ſowing the ſeeds of diſcord between their uncle and the emperor.

But cardinal Caraffa had, beſides, private reaſons which filled him with hatred and enmity to the emperor. While he ſerved in the Spaniſh troops he had not received ſuch marks of honour and diſtinction as he thought due to his birth and merit. Diſguſted with this ill-uſage, he had abruptly quitted the Imperial ſervice; and entering into that of France, he had not only met with ſuch a reception as ſoothed his vanity, and attached him to the French intereſt, but by contracting an intimate friendſhip with Strozzi, who commanded the French army in Tuſcany, he had imbibed a mortal antipathy to the emperor as the great enemy to the liberty and independence of the Italian ſtates. Nor was the pope himſelf indiſpoſed to receive impreſſions unfavourable to the emperor. The oppoſition given to his election by the cardinals of the Imperial faction, left in his mind deep reſentment, which was heightened by the remembrance of ancient injuries from Charles or his miniſters.

Of this his nephews took advantage, and employed various devices, in order to exaſperate him beyond a poſſibility of reconciliation. They aggravated every circumſtance which could be deemed any indication of the emperor's diſſatisfaction with his promotion; they read to him an intercepted letter, in which Charles taxed the cardinals of his party with negligence or incapacity in not having defeated

Paul's election: they pretended, at one time, to have discovered a conspiracy formed by the Imperial minister and Cosmo di Medici against the pope's life; they alarmed him, at another, with accounts of a plot for assassinating themselves. By these artifices, they kept his mind, which was naturally violent, and become suspicious from old age, in such perpetual agitation, as precipitated him into measures which otherwise he would have been the first person to condemn‡. He seized some of the cardinals who were most attached to the emperor, and confined them in the castle of St. Angelo; he persecuted the Colonnas and other Roman barons, the ancient retainers to the Imperial faction, with the utmost severity; and discovering on all occasions his distrust, fear, or hatred of the emperor, he began at last to court the friendship of the French king, and seemed willing to throw himself absolutely upon him for support and protection.

This was the very point to which his nephews wished to bring him, as most favourable to their ambitious schemes; and as the accomplishment of these depended on their uncle's life, whose advanced age did not admit of losing a moment unnecessarily in negotiations, instead of treating at second-hand with the French ambassador at Rome, they prevailed on the pope to dispatch a person of confidence directly to the court of France, with such overtures on his part as they hoped would not be rejected. He proposed an alliance offensive and defensive between Henry and the pope; that they should attack the dutchy of Tuscany and the kingdom of Naples with their united forces; and if their arms should prove successful, that the ancient republican form of government should be re-established in the former, and the investiture of the latter should be granted to one of the French king's sons, after reserving a certain territory which should be annexed to the patrimony of the church, together with

‡ Ripamontii Hist. Patriæ, lib. iii. 1146. ap. Græv. Thes. vol. ii. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 615. Adriani Istor. i. 906.

an independent and princely eſtabliſhment for each of the pope's nephews.

The king, allured by theſe ſpecious projects, gave a moſt favourable audience to the envoy. But when the matter was propoſed in council, the conſtable Montmorency, whoſe natural caution and averſion to daring enterpriſes increaſed with age and experience, remonſtrated with great vehemence againſt the alliance. He put Henry in mind how fatal to France every expedition into Italy had been during three ſucceſſive reigns, and if ſuch an enterpriſe had proved too great for the nation even when its ſtrength and finances were entire, there was no reaſon to hope for ſucceſs, if it ſhould be attempted now, when both were exhauſted by extraordinary efforts during wars, which had laſted, with little interruption, almoſt half a century. He repreſented the manifeſt imprudence of entering into engagements with a pope of fourſcore, as any ſyſtem which reſted on no better foundation than his life, muſt be extremely precarious, and upon the event of his death, which could not be diſtant, the face of things, together with the inclination of the Italian ſtates, muſt inſtantly change, and the whole weight of the war be left upon the king alone. To theſe conſiderations he added the near proſpect which they now had of a final accommodation with the emperor, who, having taken the reſolution of retiring from the world, wiſhed to tranſmit his kingdoms in peace to his ſon; and he concluded with repreſenting the abſolute certainty of drawing the arms of England upon France, if it ſhould appear that the re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity in Europe was prevented by the ambition of its monarch.

Theſe arguments, weighty in themſelves, and urged by a miniſter of great authority, would probably have determined the king to decline any connection with the pope. But the duke of Guiſe, and his brother the cardinal of Lorrain, who delighted no leſs in bold and dangerous undertakings than Montmorency ſhunned them, declared warmly for an alliance

with the pope. The cardinal expected to be entrusted with the conduct of the negotiations in the court of Rome to which this alliance would give rise; the duke hoped to obtain the command of the army which would be appointed to invade Naples; and considering themselves as already in these stations, vast projects opened to their aspiring and unbounded ambition. Their credit, together with the influence of the king's mistress, the famous Diana of Poitiers, who was, at that time, entirely devoted to the interest of the family of Guise, more than counterbalanced all Montmorency's prudent remonstrances, and prevailed on an inconsiderate prince to listen to the overtures of the pope's envoy.

The cardinal of Lorrain, as he had expected, was immediately sent to Rome with full powers to conclude the treaty, and to concert measures for carrying it into execution. Before he could reach that city, the pope, either from reflecting on the danger and uncertain issue of all military operations, or through the address of the Imperial ambassador, who had been at great pains to soothe him, had not only begun to lose much of the ardour with which he had commenced the negotiation with France, but even discovered great unwillingness to continue it. In order to rouse him from this fit of despondency, and to rekindle his former rage, his nephews had recourse to the arts which they had already practised with so much success. They alarmed him with new representations of the emperor's hostile intentions, with fresh accounts which they had received of threats uttered against him by the Imperial ministers, and with new discoveries which they pretended to have made of conspiracies formed, and just ready to take effect against his life.

But these artifices, having been formerly tried, would not have operated a second time with the same force, nor have made the impression which they wished, if Paul had not been excited by an offence of that kind which he was least able to bear. He received advice of the recess of the diet of Augsburg, and of the toleration which was thereby

granted to the proteſtants; and this threw him at once into ſuch tranſports of paſſion againſt the emperor and the king of the Romans, as carried him headlong into all the violent meaſures of his nephews. Full of high ideas with reſpect to the papal prerogative, and animated with the fierceſt zeal againſt hereſy, he conſidered the liberty of deſiding concerning religious matters, which had been aſſumed by an aſſembly compoſed chiefly of laymen, as a preſumptuous and unpardonable encroachment on that juriſdiction which belonged to him alone; and regarded the indulgence which had been given to the proteſtants as an impious act of that power which the diet had uſurped. He complained loudly of both to the Imperial ambaſſador. He inſiſted that the receſs of the diet ſhould immediately be declared illegal and void. He threatened the emperor and king of the Romans, in caſe they ſhould either refuſe or delay to gratify him in this particular, with the ſevereſt effects of his vengeance. He talked in a tone of authority and command which might have ſuited a pontiff of the twelfth century, when a papal decree was ſufficient to have ſhaken, or to have overturned, the throne of the greateſt monarch in Europe; but which was altogether improper in that age, eſpecially when addreſſed to the miniſter of a prince who had ſo often made pontiffs more formidable than Paul feel the weight of his power. The ambaſſador, however, heard all his extravagant propoſitions and menaces with much patience, and endeavoured to ſoothe him, by putting him in mind of the extreme diſtreſs to which the emperor had been reduced at Inſpruck, of the engagements which he had come under to the proteſtants, in order to extricate himſelf, of the neceſſity of fulfilling theſe, and of accommodating his conduct to the ſituation of his affairs. But weighty as theſe conſiderations were, they made no impreſſion on the mind of the haughty and bigoted pontiff, who inſtantly replied that he would abſolve him by his apoſtolic authority from thoſe impious engagements, and even command him not to perform

them; that in carrying on the cause of God and of the church, no regard ought to be had to the maxims of worldly prudence and policy; and that the ill success of the emperor's schemes in Germany might justly be deemed a mark of the divine displeasure against him, on account of his having paid little attention to the former, while he regulated his conduct entirely by the latter. Having said this, he turned from the ambassador abruptly without waiting for a reply.

His nephews took care to applaud and cherish these sentiments, and easily wrought up his arrogant mind, fraught with all the monkish ideas concerning the extent of the papal supremacy, to such a pitch of resentment against the house of Austria, and to such an high opinion of his own power, that he talked continually of his being the successor of those who had deposed kings and emperors; that he was exalted as head over them all, and would trample such as opposed him under his feet. In this disposition the cardinal of Lorrain found the pope, and easily persuaded him to sign a treaty [Dec. 15,] which had for its object the ruin of a prince, against whom he was so highly exasperated. The stipulations in this treaty were much the same as had been proposed by the pope's envoy at Paris; and it was agreed to keep the whole transaction secret until their united forces should be ready to take the field†.

During the negotiation of this treaty at Rome and Paris, an event happened which seemed to render the fears that had given rise to it vain, and the operations which were to follow upon it unnecessary. This was the emperor's resignation of his hereditary dominions to his son Philip; together with his resolution to withdraw entirely from any concern in business or the affairs of this world, in order that he might spend the remainder of his days in retirement and solitude. Though it requires neither deep reflection nor extraordinary discernment to discover that the state of royal-

† Pallav. lib. xiii. p. 163. F. Paul, 365. Thuan. lib. xv. 525. lib. xvi. 540. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 609, &c.

ty is not exempt from cares and disappointment; though most of those who are exalted to a throne find solicitude, and satiety, and disgust to be their perpetual attendants in that envied pre-eminence; yet to descend voluntarily from the supreme to a subordinate station, and to relinquish the possession of power in order to attain the enjoyment of happiness, seems to be an effort too great for the human mind. Several instances, indeed, occur in history, of monarchs who have quitted a throne, and have ended their days in retirement. But they were either weak princes who took this resolution rashly, and repented of it as soon as it was taken; or unfortunate princes, from whose hands some stronger rival had wrested their sceptre, and compelled them to descend with reluctance into a private station. Dioclesian is perhaps the only prince capable of holding the reins of government, who ever resigned them from deliberate choice, and who continued during many years to enjoy the tranquillity of retirement without fetching one penitent sigh, or casting back one look of desire, towards the power or dignity which he had abandoned.

No wonder, then, that Charles's resignation should fill all Europe with astonishment, and give rise, both among his contemporaries, and among the historians of that period, to various conjectures concerning the motives which determined a prince, whose ruling passion had been uniformly the love of power, at the age of fifty-six, when objects of ambition continue to operate with full force on the mind, and are pursued with the greatest ardour, to take a resolution so singular and unexpected. But while many authors have imputed it to motives so frivolous and fantastical, as can hardly be supposed to influence any reasonable mind; while others have imagined it to be the result of some profound scheme of policy; historians more intelligent, and better informed, neither ascribe it to caprice, nor search for mysterious secrets of state, where simple and obvious causes will fully account for the emperor's conduct. Charles had been attacked ear-

ly in life with the gout, and notwithſtanding all the precautions of the moſt ſkilful phyſicians, the violence of the diſtemper increaſed as he advanced in age, and the fits became every year more frequent, as well as more ſevere. Not only was the vigour of his conſtitution broken, but the faculties of his mind were impaired by the excruciating torments which he endured. During the continuance of the fits, he was altogether incapable of applying to buſineſs, and even when they began to abate, as it was only at intervals that he could attend to what was ſerious, he gave up a great part of his time to trifling and even childiſh occupations, which ſerved to relieve or to amuſe his mind, enfeebled and worn out with exceſs of pain. Under theſe circumſtances, the conduct of ſuch affairs as occurred of courſe, in governing ſo many kingdoms, was a burden more than ſufficient; but to puſh forward and complete the vaſt ſchemes which the ambition of his more active years had formed, or to keep in view and carry on the ſame great ſyſtem of policy, extending to every nation in Europe, and connected with the operations of every different court, were functions which ſo far exceeded his ſtrength, that they oppreſſed and overwhelmed his mind. As he had been long accuſtomed to view the buſineſs of every department, whether civil, or military, or eccleſiaſtical, with his own eyes, and to decide concerning it according to his own ideas, it gave him the utmoſt pain when he felt his infirmities increaſe ſo faſt upon him, that he was obliged to commit the conduct of all affairs to his miniſters. He imputed every misfortune which befel him, and every miſcarriage that happened, even when the former was unavoidable and the latter accidental, to his inability to take the inſpection of buſineſs himſelf. He complained of his hard fortune, in being oppoſed, in his declining years, to a rival, who was in the full vigour of life, and that while Henry could take and execute all his reſolutions in perſon, he ſhould now be reduced, both in council and in action, to rely on the talents and exertions of other men. Having thus

grown old before his time, he wisely judged it more decent to conceal his infirmities in some solitude, than to expose them any longer to the public eye; and prudently determined not to forfeit the fame, or lose the acquisitions of his better years, by struggling, with a vain obstinacy, to retain the reins of government, when he was no longer able to hold them with steadiness, or to guide them with address*.

But though Charles had revolved this scheme in his mind for several years, and had communicated it to his sisters the dowager queens of France and Hungary, who not only approved of his intention, but offered to accompany him to whatever place of retreat he should chuse; several things had hitherto prevented his carrying it into execution. He could not think of loading his son with the government of so many kingdoms, until he should attain such maturity of age, and

* Dom Levesque, in his memoirs of cardinal Granvelle, gives a reason for the emperor's resignation, which, as far as I recollect, is not mentioned by any other historian. He says, that the emperor having ceded the government of the kingdom of Naples and the dutchy of Milan to his son, upon his marriage with the queen of England; Philip, notwithstanding the advice and intreaties of his father, removed most of the ministers and officers whom he had employed in those countries, and appointed creatures of his own, to fill the places which they held. That he aspired openly, and with little delicacy, to obtain a share in the administration of affairs in the Low-Countries. That he endeavoured to thwart the emperor's measures, and to limit his authority, behaving towards him sometimes with inattention, and sometimes with haughtiness. That Charles finding that he must either yield on every occasion to his son, or openly contend with him, in order to avoid either of these, which were both disagreeable and mortifying to a father, he took the resolution of resigning his crowns, and of retiring from the world, vol. i. p. 24, &c. Dom Levesque derived his information concerning these curious facts, which he relates very briefly, from the original papers of cardinal Granvelle. But as that vast collection of papers, which has been preserved and arranged by M. l'abbé Boizot of Besançon, though one of the most valuable historical monuments of the sixteenth century, and which cannot fail of throwing much light on the transactions of Charles V. is not published, I cannot determine what degree of credit should be given to this account of Charles's resignation. I have therefore taken no notice of it in relating this event.

of abilities, as would enable him to ſuſtain that weighty burden. But as Philip had now reached his twenty-eight year, and had been early accuſtomed to buſineſs, for which he diſcovered both inclination and capacity, it can hardly be imputed to the partiality of paternal affection, that his ſcruples, with regard to this point, were entirely removed; and that he thought he might place his ſon, without further heſitation or delay, on the throne which he himſelf was about to abandon. His mother's ſituation had been another obſtruction in his way. For although ſhe had continued almoſt fifty years in confinement, and under the ſame diſorder of mind which concern for her huſband's death had brought upon her, yet the government of Spain was ſtill veſted in her jointly with the emperor; her name was inſerted together with his in all the public inſtruments iſſued in that kingdom; and ſuch was the fond attachment of the Spaniards to her, that they would probably have ſcrupled to recogniſe Philip as their ſovereign, unleſs ſhe had conſented to aſſume him as her partner on the throne. Her utter incapacity for buſineſs rendered it impoſſible to obtain her conſent. But her death, which happened this year, removed this difficulty; and as Charles, upon that event, became ſole monarch of Spain, it left the ſucceſſion open to his ſon. The war with France had likewiſe been a reaſon for retaining the adminiſtration of affairs in his own hand, as he was extremely ſolicitous to have terminated it, that he might have given up his kingdoms to his ſon at peace with all the world. But as Henry had diſcovered no diſpoſition to cloſe with any of his overtures, and had even rejected propoſals of peace, which were equal and moderate, in a tone that ſeemed to indicate a fixed purpoſe of continuing hoſtilities, he ſaw that it was vain to wait longer in expectation of an event, which, however deſirable, was altogether uncertain.

As this, then, appeared to be the proper juncture for executing the ſcheme which he had long meditated, Charles reſolved to reſign his kingdoms to his ſon, with a ſolemnity

ſuitable to the importance of the tranſaction, and to perform this laſt act of ſovereignty with ſuch formal pomp, as might leave a laſting impreſſion on the minds not only of his ſubjects but of his ſucceſſor. With this view he called Philip out of England, where the peev ſh temper of his queen, which increaſed with her deſpair of having iſſue, rendered him extremely unhappy; and the jealouſy of the Engliſh left him no hopes of obtaining the direction of their affairs. Having aſſembled the States of the Low-Countries at Bruſſels, on the twenty-fifth of October, Charles ſeated himſelf, for the laſt time, in the chair of ſtate, on one ſide of which was placed his ſon, and on the other his ſiſter, the queen of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, with a ſplendid retinue of the princes of the empire and grandees of Spain ſtanding behind him. The preſident of the council of Flanders, by his command, explained, in a few words, his intention in calling this extraordinary meeting of the States. He then read the inſtrument of reſignation, by which Charles ſurrendered to his ſon Philip all his territories, juriſdiction, and authority in the Low-Countries, abſolving his ſubjects there from their oath of allegiance to him, which he required them to transfer to Philip his lawful heir, and to ſerve him with the ſame loyalty and zeal which they had manifeſted, during ſo long a courſe of years, in ſupport of his government.

Charles then roſe from his ſeat, and leaning on the ſhoulder of the prince of Orange, becauſe he was unable to ſtand without ſupport, he addreſſed himſelf to the audience, and from a paper which he held in his hand, in order to aſſiſt his memory, he recounted, with dignity, but without oſtentation, all the great things which he had undertaken and performed ſince the commencement of his adminiſtration. He obſerved, that, from the ſeventeenth year of his age, he had dedicated all his thoughts and attention to public objects, reſerving no portion of his time for the indulgence of his eaſe, and very little for the enjoyment of private pleaſure; that

either in a pacific or hoftile manner, he had vifited Germany nine times, Spain fix times, France four times, Italy feven times, the Low-Countries ten times, England twice, Africa as often, and had made eleven voyages by fea; that while his health permitted him to difcharge his duty, and the vigour of his conftitution was equal, in any degree, to the arduous office of governing fuch extenfive dominions, he had never fhunned labour, nor repined under fatigue; that now when his health was broken, and his vigour exhaufted by the rage of an incurable diftemper, his growing infirmities admonifhed him to retire, nor was he fo fond of reigning, as to retain the fceptre in an impotent hand, which was no longer able to protect his fubjects, or to fecure to them the happinefs which he wifhed they fhould enjoy; that inftead of a fovereign worn out with difeafe, and fcarcely half alive, he gave them one in the prime of life, accuftomed already to govern, and who added to the vigour of youth all the attention and fagacity of maturer years; that if, during the courfe of a long adminiftration, he had committed any material error in government, or if, under the preffure of fo many and great affairs, and amidft the attention which he had been obliged to give to them, he had either neglected or injured any of his fubjects, he now implored their forgivenefs; that, for his part, he fhould ever retain a grateful fenfe of their fidelity and attachment, and would carry the remembrance of it along with him to the place of his retreat, as his fweeteft confolation, as well as the beft reward for all his fervices, and in his laft prayers to Almighty God would pour forth his moft earneft petitions for their welfare.

Then turning towards Philip, who fell on his knees and kiffed his father's hand, "If," fays he, "I had left you by my death this rich inheritance, to which I have made fuch large additions, fome regard would have been juftly due to my memory on that account; but now, when I voluntarily refign to you what I might have ftill retained, I may well expect the warmeft expreffions of thanks on your part.

With theſe, however, I diſpenſe, and ſhall conſider your concern for the welfare of your ſubjects, and your love of them, as the beſt and moſt acceptable teſtimony of your gratitude to me. It is in your power, by a wiſe and virtuous adminiſtration, to juſtify the extraordinary proof which I, this day, give of my paternal affection, and to demonſtrate that you are worthy of the confidence which I repoſe in you. Preſerve an inviolable regard for religion; maintain the catholic faith in its purity; let the laws of your country be ſacred in your eyes; encroach not on the rights and privileges of your people; and if the time ſhould ever come when you ſhall wiſh to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have a ſon endowed with ſuch qualities, that you can reſign your ſceptre to him with as much ſatisfaction as I give up mine to you."

As ſoon as Charles had finiſhed this long addreſs to his ſubjects and to their new ſovereign, he ſunk into the chair, exhauſted and ready to faint with the fatigue of ſuch an extraordinary effort. During his diſcourſe, the whole audience melted into tears, ſome from admiration of his magnanimity, others ſoftened by the expreſſions of tenderneſs towards his ſon, and of love to his people; and all were affected with the deepeſt ſorrow at loſing a ſovereign, who, during his adminiſtration, had diſtinguiſhed the Netherlands, his native country, with particular marks of his regard and attachment.

Philip then aroſe from his knees, and after returning thanks to his father, with a low and ſubmiſſive voice, for the royal gift which his unexampled bounty had beſtowed upon him, he addreſſed the aſſembly of the States, and regretting his inability to ſpeak the Flemiſh language with ſuch facility as to expreſs what he felt on this intereſting occaſion, as well as what he owed to his good ſubjects in the Netherlands, he begged that they would permit Granvelle biſhop of Arras to deliver what he had given him in charge to ſpeak in his name. Granvelle, in a long diſcourſe, expa-

tiated on the zeal with which Philip was animated for the good of his subjects, on his resolution to devote all his time and talents to the promoting of their happiness, and on his intention to imitate his father's example in distinguishing the Netherlands with peculiar marks of his regard. Maëis, a lawyer of great eloquence, replied, in the name of the States, with large professions of their fidelity and affection to their new sovereign.

1556.] Then Mary, queen-dowager of Hungary, resigned the regency with which she had been entrusted by her brother during the space of twenty-five years. Next day [Jan. 6.] Philip, in presence of the States, took the usual oaths to maintain the rights and privileges of his subjects; and all the members, in their own name, and in that of their constituents, swore allegiance to him*.

A few weeks after this transaction, Charles, in an assembly no less splendid, and with a ceremonial equally pompous, resigned to his son the crowns of Spain, with all the territories depending on them, both in the old and in the new world. Of all these vast possessions, he reserved nothing for himself but an annual pension of an hundred thousand crowns, to defray the charges of his family, and to afford him a small sum for acts of beneficence and charity†.

* Godleveus Relatio Abdicationis Car. V. ap. Goldast. Polit. Imper. p. 377. Strada de Bello Belgico, lib. i. p. 5.

† The emperor's resignation is an event not only of such importance, but of such a nature, that the precise date of it, one would expect, should have been ascertained by historians with the greatest accuracy. There is, however, an amazing and an unaccountable diversity among them with regard to this point. All agree that the deed by which Charles transferred to his son his dominions in the Netherlands, bears date at Brussels the 25th of October. Sandoval fixes on the 28th of October as the day on which the ceremony of resignation happened, and he was present at the transaction, vol. ii. p. 592. Godleveus, who published a treatise de Abdicatione Caroli V. fixes the public ceremony, as well as the date of the instrument of resignation, on the 25th. Pere Barre, I know not upon what authority, fixes it on the 24th of November, Hist. d'Alem. viii. 976. Herrera agrees with

As he had fixed on a place of retreat in Spain, hoping that the dryneſs of the air and the warmth of the climate in that country might mitigate the violence of his diſeaſe, which had been much increaſed by the moiſture of the air and the rigour of the winters in the Netherlands, he was extremely impatient to embark for that kingdom, and to diſengage himſelf entirely from buſineſs, which he found to be impoſſible while he remained in Bruſſels. But his phyſicians remonſtrated ſo ſtrongly againſt his venturing to ſea at that cold and boiſterous ſeaſon of the year, that he conſented, though with reluctance, to put off his voyage for ſome months.

By yielding to their intreaties, he had the ſatisfaction, before he left the Low-Countries, of taking a conſiderable ſtep towards a peace with France, which he ardently wiſhed for, not only on his ſon's account, but that he might have

Godleveus in his account of this matter, tom. i. 155. as likewiſe does Pallavicini, whoſe authority with reſpect to dates, and every thing where a minute accuracy is requiſite, is of great weight, Hiſt. lib. xvi. p. 168. Hiſtorians differ no leſs with regard to the day on which Charles reſigned the crown of Spain to his ſon. According to M. de Thou, it was a month after his having reſigned his dominions in the Netherlands, i. e. about the 25th of November, Thuan. lib. xvi. p. 571. According to Sandoval, it was on the 16th of January, 1556, Sand. ii. 603. Antonio de Vera agrees with him, Epitome del Vida del Car. V. p. 110. According to Pallavicini, it was on the 17th, Pal. lib. xvi. p. 168. and with him Herrera agrees, Vida del D. Felipe, tom. i. p. 233. But Ferreras fixes it on the firſt day of January, Hiſt. Gener. tom. ix. p. 371. M. de Beaucaire ſuppoſes the reſignation of the crown of Spain to have been executed a few days after the reſignation of the Netherlands, Com. de Reb. Gall. p. 879. It is remarkable, that in the treaty of truce at Vaucelles, though Charles had made over all his dominions to his ſon ſome weeks previous to the concluſion of it, all the ſtipulations are in the emperor's name, and Philip is only ſtyled king of England and Naples. It is certain Philip was not proclaimed king of Caſtile, &c. at Valladolid ſooner than the 24th of March, Sandov. ii. p. 606; and previous to that ceremony, he did not chuſe, it ſhould ſeem, to aſſume the title of king of any of his Spaniſh kingdoms, or to perform any act of royal juriſdiction. In a deed annexed to the treaty of truce, dated April 19, he aſſumes the title of king of Caſtile, &c. in the uſual ſtyle of the Spaniſh monarchs in that age. Corps Dipl. tom. iv. Append. p. 85.

the merit, when quitting the world, of re-eſtabliſhing that tranquillity in Europe, which he had baniſhed out of it almoſt from the time that he had aſſumed the adminiſtration of affairs. Previous to his reſignation, commiſſioners had been appointed by him and by the French king, in order to treat of an exchange of priſoners. In their conference at the Abbey of Vaucelles, near Cambray, an expedient was accidentally propoſed for terminating hoſtilities between the contending monarchs, by a long truce, during the ſubſiſtence of which, and without diſcuſſing their reſpective claims, each ſhould retain what was now in his poſſeſſion. Charles, ſenſible how much his kingdoms were exhauſted by the expenſive and almoſt continual wars in which his ambition had engaged him, and eager to gain for his ſon a ſhort interval of peace, that he might eſtabliſh himſelf firmly on his throne, declared warmly for cloſing with the overture, though manifeſtly diſhonourable as well as diſadvantageous; and ſuch was the reſpect due to his wiſdom and experience, that Philip, notwithſtanding his unwillingneſs to purchaſe peace by ſuch conceſſions, did not preſume to urge his opinion in oppoſition to that of his father.

Henry could not have heſitated one moment about giving his conſent to a truce on ſuch conditions, as would leave him in quiet poſſeſſion of the greater part of the duke of Savoy's dominions, together with the important conqueſts which he had made on the German frontier. But it was no eaſy matter to reconcile ſuch a ſtep with the engagements which he had come under to the pope, in his late treaty with him. The conſtable Montmorency, however, repreſented in ſuch a ſtriking light the imprudence of ſacrificing the true intereſts of his kingdom to theſe raſh obligations, and took ſuch advantage of the abſence of the cardinal of Lorrain, who had ſeduced the king into his alliance with the Caraffas, that Henry, who was naturally fluctuating and unſteady, and apt to be influenced by the advice laſt given him, authoriſed his ambaſſadors [5th Feb.] to ſign a

treaty of truce with the emperor for five years, on the terms which had been propoſed. But that he might not ſeem to have altogether forgotten his ally the pope, who, he foreſaw, would be highly exaſperated, he, in order to ſoothe him, took care that he ſhould be expreſsly included in the truce*.

The count of Lalain repaired to Blois, and the admiral Coligny to Bruſſels, the former to be preſent when the king of France, and the latter when the emperor and his ſon ratified the treaty and bound themſelves by oath to obſerve it†.

When an account of the conference at Vaucelles, and of the conditions of truce which had been propoſed there, were firſt carried to Rome, it gave the pope no manner of diſquiet. He truſted ſo much to the honour of the French monarch, that he would not allow himſelf to think that Henry could forget ſo ſoon, or violate ſo ſhamefully, all the ſtipulations in his league with him. He had ſuch an high opinion of the emperor's wiſdom, that he made no doubt of his refuſing his conſent to a truce, on ſuch unequal terms: and on both theſe accounts he confidently pronounced that this, like many preceding negotiations, would terminate in nothing. But later and more certain intelligence ſoon convinced him that no reaſoning in political affairs is more fallacious, than, becauſe an event is improbable, to conclude that it will not happen. The ſudden and unexpected concluſion of the truce filled Paul with aſtoniſhment and terror. The cardinal of Lorrain durſt not encounter that ſtorm of indignation, to which he knew that he ſhould be expoſed from the haughty pontiff, who had ſo good reaſon to be in-

* Mem. de Ribier, ii. 626. Corps Diplom. tom. iv. App. 81.

† One of admiral de Coligny's attendants, who wrote the court of France an account of what happened while they reſided at Bruſſels, takes notice, as an inſtance of Philip's unpoliteneſs, that he received the French ambaſſador in an apartment hung with tapeſtry, which repreſented the battle of Pavia, the manner in which Francis I. was taken priſoner, his voyage to Spain, with all the mortifying circumſtances of his captivity and impriſonment at Madrid. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 634.

censed; but departing abruptly from Rome, he left to the cardinal Tournon the difficult task of attempting to soothe Paul and his nephews. They were fully sensible of the perilous situation in which they now stood. By their engagements with France, which were no longer secret, they had highly irritated Philip. They dreaded the violence of his implacable temper. The duke of Alva, a minister fitted, as well by his abilities as by the severity of his nature, for executing all Philip's rigorous schemes, had advanced from Milan to Naples, and began to assemble troops on the frontiers of the ecclesiastical state: while they, if deserted by France, must not only relinquish all the hopes of dominion and sovereignty to which their ambition aspired, but remain exposed to the resentment of the Spanish monarch, without one ally to protect them against an enemy with whom they were so little able to contend.

Under these circumstances, Paul had recourse to the arts of negotiation and intrigue, of which the papal court knows well how to avail itself in order to ward off any calamity threatened by an enemy superior in power. He affected to approve highly of the truce, as an happy expedient for putting a stop to the effusion of Christian blood. He expressed his warmest wishes that it might prove the forerunner of a definitive peace. He exhorted the rival princes to embrace this favourable opportunity of setting on foot a negotiation for that purpose, and offered, as their common father, to be mediator between them. Under this pretext, he appointed cardinal Rebiba his nuncio to the court of Brussels, and his nephew cardinal Caraffa to that of Paris. The public instructions given to both were the same; that they should use their utmost endeavours to prevail with the two monarchs to accept of the pope's mediation, that, by means of it, peace might be re-established, and measures might be taken for assembling a general council. But under this specious appearance of zeal for attaining objects so desirable in themselves, and so becoming his sacred character to

pursue, Paul concealed very different intentions. Caraffa, besides his public instructions, received a private commission to solicit the French king to renounce the treaty of truce, and to renew his engagements with the holy see; and he was empowered to spare neither entreaties, nor promises, nor bribes, in order to gain that point. This, both the uncle and the nephew considered as the real end of the embassy; while the other served to amuse the vulgar, or to deceive the emperor and his son. The cardinal, accordingly, set out instantly for Paris [11th March,] and travelled with the greatest expedition, while Rebiba was detained some weeks at Rome; and when it became necessary for him to begin his journey, he received secret orders to protract it as much as possible, that the issue of Caraffa's negotiation might be known before he might reach Brussels, and according to that, proper directions might be given to him with regard to the tone which he should assume, in treating with the emperor and his son*.

Caraffa made his entry into Paris with extraordinary pomp: and having presented a consecrated sword to Henry, as the protector on whose aid the pope relied in the present exigency, he besought him not to disregard the entreaties of a parent in distress, but to employ that weapon which he gave him in his defence. This he represented not only as a duty of filial piety, but as an act of justice. As the pope, from confidence in the assistance and support which his late treaty with France entitled him to expect, had taken such steps as had irritated the king of Spain, he conjured Henry not to suffer Paul and his family to be crushed under the weight of that resentment which they had drawn on themselves merely by their attachment to France. Together with this argument addressed to his generosity, he employed another which he hoped would work on his ambition. He affirmed that now was the time, when, with the most certain prospect of success, he might attack Philip's

* Pallav. lib. xiii. p. 169. Burnet Hist. of Reform. ii. App. 309.

dominions in Italy; that the flower of the veteran Spanish bands had perished in the wars of Hungary, Germany, and the Low-Countries; that the emperor had left his son an exhausted treasury, and kingdoms drained of men; that he had no longer to contend with the abilities, the experience, and good fortune of Charles, but with a monarch scarcely seated on his throne, unpractised in command, odious to many of the Italian States, and dreaded by all. He promised that the pope, who had already levied soldiers, would bring a considerable army into the field, which, when joined by a sufficient number of French troops, might, by one brisk and sudden effort, drive the Spaniards out of Naples, and add to the crown of France a kingdom, the conquest of which had been the great object of all his predecessors during half a century, and the chief motive of all their expeditions into Italy.

July 31.] Every word Caraffa spoke made a deep impression on Henry; conscious on the one hand, that the pope had just cause to reproach him with having violated the laws not only of generosity but of decency, when he renounced his league with him, and had agreed to the truce of Vaucelles, and eager on the other hand, not only to distinguish his reign by a conquest which three former monarchs had attempted without success, but likewise to acquire an establishment of such dignity and value for one of his sons. Reverence, however, for the oath, by which he had so lately confirmed the truce of Vaucelles; the extreme old age of the pope, whose death might occasion an entire revolution in the political system of Italy; together with the representations of Montmorency, who repeated all the arguments he had used against the first league with Paul, and pointed out the great and immediate advantages which France derived from the truce; kept Henry for some time in suspense, and might possibly have outweighed all Caraffa's arguments. But the cardinal was not such a novice in the arts of intrigue and negotiation, as not to have expedients ready for removing

or surmounting all these obstacles. To obviate the king's scruple with regard to his oath, he produced powers from the pope, to absolve him from the obligation of it. By way of security against any danger which he might apprehend from the pope's death, he engaged that his uncle would make such a nomination of cardinals, as should give Henry the absolute command of the next election, and enable him to place in the papal chair a person entirely devoted to his interest.

In order to counterbalance the effect of the constable's opinion and influence, he employed not only the active talents of the duke of Guise, and the eloquence of his brother the cardinal of Lorrain, but the address of the queen, aided by the more powerful arts of Diana of Poitiers, who, unfortunately for France, co-operated with Catherine in this point, though she took pleasure, on almost every other occasion, to thwart and mortify her. They, by their united solicitations, easily swayed the king, who leaned, of his own accord, to that side towards which they wished him to incline. All Montmorency's prudent remonstrances were disregarded; the nuncio absolved Henry from his oath; and he signed a new league with the pope, which rekindled the flames of war both in Italy and in the Low-Countries.

As soon as Paul was informed by his nephew that there was a fair prospect of his succeeding in this negotiation, he dispatched a messenger after the nuncio Rebiba [July 31,] with orders to return to Rome, without proceeding to Brussels. As it was now no longer necessary to preserve that tone of moderation, which suited the character of a mediator, and which he had affected to assume, or to put any farther restraint upon his resentment against Philip, he boldly threw off the mask, and took such violent steps as rendered a rupture unavoidable. He seized and imprisoned the Spanish envoy at his court. He excommunicated the Colonnas; and having deprived Mark Antonio, the head of that family, of the dukedom of Paliano, he granted that dignity,

together with the territory annexed to it, to his nephew the count of Montorio. He ordered a legal information to be presented in the consistory of cardinals against Philip, setting forth that he, notwithstanding the fidelity and allegiance due by him to the holy see, of which he held the kingdom of Naples, had not only afforded a retreat in his domions to the Colonnas, whom the pope had excommunicated and declared rebels, but had furnished them with arms, and was ready, in conjunction with them, to invade the ecclesiastical state in an hostile manner; that such conduct in a vassal was to be deemed treason against his liege lord, the punishment of which was the forfeiture of his fief. Upon this, the consistorial advocate requested the pope to take cognizance of the cause, and to appoint a day for hearing of it, when he would make good every article of the charge, and expect from his justice that sentence which the heinousness of Philip's crimes merited. Paul, whose pride was highly flattered with the idea of trying and passing judgment on so great a king, assented to his request [July 27,] and as if it had been no less easy to execute than to pronounce such a sentence, declared that he would consult with the cardinals concerning the formalities requisite in conducting the trial*.

But while Paul allowed his pride and resentment to drive him on with such headlong impetuosity, Philip discovered an amazing moderation on his part. He had been taught by the Spanish ecclesiastics, who had the charge of his education, a profound veneration for the holy see. This sentiment, which had been early infused, grew up with him as he advanced in years, and took full possession of his mind, which was naturally thoughtful, serious, and prone to superstition. When he foresaw a rupture with the pope approaching, he had such violent scruples with respect to the lawfulness of taking arms against the vicegerent of Christ, and the common father of all Christians, that he consulted

* Pallav. lib. xiii. 171.

ſome Spaniſh divines upon that point. They, with the uſual dexterity of caſuiſts in accommodating their reſponſes to the circumſtances of thoſe who apply to them for direction, aſſured him that, after employing prayers and remonſtrances in order to bring the pope to reaſon, he had full right, both by the laws of nature and of Chriſtianity, not only to defend himſelf when attacked, but to begin hoſtilities, if that were judged the moſt proper expedient for preventing the effects of Paul's violence and injuſtice. Philip, nevertheleſs, continued to deliberate and delay, conſidering it as a moſt cruel misfortune, that his adminiſtration ſhould open with an attack on a perſon, whoſe ſacred function and character he ſo highly reſpected†.

At laſt the duke of Alva, who, in compliance with his maſter's ſcruples, had continued to negotiate long after he ſhould have begun to act, finding Paul inexorable, and that every overture of peace, and every appearance of heſitation on his part, increaſed the pontiff's natural arrogance, took the field [Sept. 5] and entered the eccleſiaſtical territories. His army did not exceed twelve thouſand men, but it was compoſed of veteran ſoldiers, and commanded chiefly by thoſe Roman barons, whom Paul's violence had driven into exile. The valour of the troops, together with the animoſity of their leaders, who fought in their own quarrel, and to recover their own eſtates, ſupplied the want of numbers. As none of the French forces were yet arrived, Alva ſoon became maſter of the Campagna Romana; ſome cities being ſurrendered through the cowardice of the garriſons, which conſiſted of raw ſoldiers, ill diſciplined, and worſe commanded; the gates of others being opened by the inhabitants, who were eager to receive back their ancient maſters. Alva, that he might not be taxed with impiety in ſeizing the patrimony of the church, took poſſeſſion of the towns which capitulated, in the name of the college of cardinals, to which, or to the pope that ſhould be choſen to

† Ferrer, Hiſt. de Eſpagne, ix. 373. Herrera, i. 308.

ſucceed Paul, he declared that he would immediately reſtore them.

The rapid progreſs of the Spaniards, whoſe light troops made excurſions even to the gates of Rome, filled that city with conſternation. Paul, though inflexible and undaunted himſelf, was obliged to give way ſo far to the fears and ſolicitations of the cardinals, as to ſend deputies to Alva in order to propoſe a ceſſation of arms. The pope yielded the more readily, as he was ſenſible of a double advantage which might be derived from obtaining that point. It would deliver the inhabitants of Rome from their preſent terror, and would afford time for the arrival of the ſuccours which he expected from France. Nor was Alva unwilling to cloſe with the overture, both as he knew how deſirous his maſter was to terminate a war, which he had undertaken with reluctance, and as his army was ſo much weakened by garriſoning the great number of towns which he had reduced, that it was hardly in a condition to keep the field without freſh recruits. A truce was accordingly concluded [Nov. 19,] firſt for ten, and afterwards for forty days, during which, various ſchemes of peace were propoſed, and perpetual negotiations were carried on, but with no ſincerity on the part of the pope. The return of his nephew the cardinal to Rome, the receipt of a conſiderable ſum remitted by the king of France, the arrival of one body of French troops, together with the expectation of others which had begun their march, rendered him more arrogant than ever, and baniſhed all thoughts from his mind, but thoſe of war and revenge†.

† Pallav. lib. xiii. 177. Thuan. lib. xvii. 588. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 664.

BOOK XII.

WHILE these operations or intrigues kept the pope and Philip busy and attentive, the emperor disentangled himself finally from all the affairs of this world, and set out for the place of his retreat. He had hitherto retained the Imperial dignity, not from any unwillingness to relinquish it, for, after having resigned the real and extensive authority that he enjoyed in his hereditary dominions, to part with the limited and often ideal jurisdiction which belongs to an elective crown, was no great sacrifice. His sole motive for delay was to gain a few months, for making one trial more, in order to accomplish his favourite scheme in behalf of his son. At the very time Charles seemed to be most sensible of the vanity of worldly grandeur, and when he appeared to be quitting it not only with indifference, but with contempt, the vast schemes of ambition, which had so long occupied and engrossed his mind, still kept possession of it. He could not think of leaving his son in a rank inferior to that which he himself had held among the princes of Europe. As he had, some years before, made a fruitless attempt to secure the Imperial crown to Philip, that by uniting it to the kingdoms of Spain, and the dominions of the house of Burgundy, he might put it in his power to prosecute, with a better prospect of success, those great plans, which his own infirmities had obliged him to abandon, he was still unwilling to relinquish this flattering project as chimerical or unattainable.

Notwithstanding the repulse which he had formerly met with from his brother Ferdinand, he renewed his solicitations with fresh importunity; and during the summer, had tried every art, and employed every argument, which he thought could induce him to quit the Imperial throne to Philip, and to accept of the investiture of some province, either in Italy,

or in the Low-Countries, as an equivalent*. But Ferdinand, who was ſo firm and inflexible with regard to this point, that he had paid no regard to the ſolicitations of the emperor, even when they were enforced with all the weight of authority which accompanies ſupreme power, received the overture, that now came from him in the ſituation to which he had deſcended, with greater indifference, and would hardly deign to liſten to it. Charles, aſhamed of his own credulity in having imagined that he might accompliſh that now, which he attempted formerly without ſucceſs, deſiſted finally from his ſcheme. He then reſigned the government of the empire, and having transferred all his claims of obedience and allegiance from the Germanic body, to his brother the king of the Romans, he executed a deed to that effect [Aug. 27,] with all the formalities requiſite in ſuch an important tranſaction. The inſtrument of reſignation he committed to William prince of Orange, and empowered him to lay it before the college of electors†.

Nothing now remained to detain Charles from that retreat for which he languiſhed. The preparations for his voyage having been made for ſome time, he ſet out for Zuitburg in Zealand, where the fleet which was to convoy him had orders to aſſemble. In his way thither he paſſed through Ghent, and after ſtopping there a few days, to indulge that tender and pleaſing melancholy, which ariſes in the mind of every man in the decline of life, on viſiting the place of his nativity, and viewing the ſcenes and objects familiar to him in his early youth, he purſued his journey, accompanied by his ſon Philip, his daughter the archdutcheſs, his ſiſters the dowager queens of France and Hungary, Maximilian his ſon-in-law, and a numerous retinue of the Flemiſh nobility. Before he went on board, he diſmiſſed them, with marks of his attention or regard, and taking leave of Philip with all the tenderneſs of a father who embraced his ſon for the laſt time,

* Ambaſſades des Noailles, tom. v. 356.
† Goldaſt. Conſtit. Imper. pars i. 576.

he set sail on the seventeenth of September, under convoy of a large fleet of Spanish, Flemish, and English ships. He declined a pressing invitation, from the queen of England, to land in some part of her dominions, in order to refresh himself, and that she might have the comfort of seeing him once more. "It cannot surely," said he, "be agreeable to a queen to receive a visit from a father-in-law, who is now nothing more than a private gentleman."

His voyage was prosperous, and he arrived at Laredo in Biscay on the eleventh day after he left Zealand. As soon as he landed, he fell prostrate on the ground; and considering himself now as dead to the world, he kissed the earth, and said, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked I now return to thee, thou common mother of mankind." From Laredo he pursued his journey to Burgos, carried sometimes in a chair and sometimes in a horse litter, suffering exquisite pain at every step, and advancing with the greatest difficulty. Some of the Spanish nobility repaired to Burgos, in order to pay court to him, but they were so few in number, and their attendance was so negligent, that Charles observed it, and felt, for the first time, that he was no longer a monarch. Accustomed from his early youth to the dutiful and officious respect with which those who possess sovereign power are attended, he had received it with the credulity common to princes, and was sensibly mortified, when he now discovered, that he had been indebted to his rank and power for much of that obsequious regard which he had fondly thought was paid to his personal qualities. But though he might have soon learned to view with unconcern the levity of his subjects, or to have despised their neglect, he was more deeply afflicted with the ingratitude of his son, who, forgetting already how much he owed to his father's bounty, obliged him to remain some weeks at Burgos, before he paid him the first moiety of that small pension, which was all that he had reserved of so many kingdoms. As without

this ſum, Charles could not diſmiſs his domeſtics with ſuch rewards as their ſervices merited, or his generoſity had deſtined for them, he could not help expreſſing both ſurpriſe and diſſatisfaction*. At laſt the money was paid, and Charles having diſmiſſed a great number of his domeſtics, whoſe attendance he thought would be ſuperfluous or cumberſome in his retirement, he proceeded to Valladolid. There he took a laſt and tender leave of his two ſiſters, whom he would not permit to accompany him to his ſolitude, though they requeſted him with tears, not only that they might have the conſolation of contributing by their attendance and care to mitigate or to ſoothe his ſufferings, but that they might reap inſtruction and benefit by joining with him in thoſe pious exerciſes, to which he had conſecrated the remainder of his days.

1557.] From Valladolid he continued his journey to Placentia in Eſtremadura. He had paſſed through this place a great many years before, and having been ſtruck at that time with the delightful ſituation of the monaſtery of St. Juſtus, belonging to the order of St. Jerome, not many miles diſtant from the town, he had then obſerved to ſome of his attendants, that this was a ſpot to which Diocleſian might have retired with pleaſure. The impreſſion had remained ſo ſtrong on his mind, that he pitched upon it as the place of his own retreat. It was ſeated in a vale of no great extent, watered by a ſmall brook, and ſurrounded by riſing grounds, covered with lofty trees; from the nature of the ſoil, as well as the temperature of the climate, it was eſteemed the moſt healthful and delicious ſituation in Spain. Some months before his reſignation he had ſent an architect thither to add a new apartment to the monaſtery, for his accommodation; but he gave ſtrict orders that the ſtyle of the building ſhould be ſuch as ſuited his preſent ſtation, rather than his former dignity. It conſiſted only of ſix rooms, four of them in the form of friars cells, with naked walls; the other two, each twenty feet ſquare, were hung with brown cloth, and furniſhed in the moſt

* Strada de Bello Belg. lib. i. 9.

ſimple manner. They were all on a level with the ground; with a door on one ſide into a garden, of which Charles himſelf had given the plan, and had filled it with various plants, which he intended to cultivate with his own hands. On the other ſide they communicated with the chapel of the monaſtery, in which he was to perform his devotions. Into this humble retreat, hardly ſufficient for the comfortable accommodation of a private gentleman, did Charles enter [Feb. 24,] with twelve domeſtics only. He buried there, in ſolitude and ſilence, his grandeur, his ambition, together with all thoſe vaſt projects, which, during almoſt half a century, had alarmed and agitated Europe, filling every kingdom in it, by turns, with the terror of his arms, and the dread of being ſubdued by his power*.

The contraſt between Charles's conduct and that of the pope at this juncture was ſo obvious, that it ſtruck even the moſt careleſs obſervers; nor was the compariſon which they made to the advantage of Paul. The former, a conqueror, born to reign, long accuſtomed to the ſplendour which accompanies ſupreme power, and to thoſe buſy and intereſting ſcenes in which an active ambition had engaged him, quitted the world at a period of life not far advanced, that he might cloſe the evening of his days in tranquillity, and ſecure ſome interval for ſober thought and ſerious recollection. The latter a prieſt, who had paſſed the early part of his life in the ſhade of the ſchools, and in the ſtudy of the ſpeculative ſciences, who was ſeemingly ſo detached from the world, that he had ſhut himſelf up for many years in the ſolitude of a cloiſter, and who was not raiſed to the papal throne until he had reached the extremity of old age, diſcovered at once all the impetuoſity of youthful ambition, and formed extenſive ſchemes, in order to accompliſh which, he ſcrupled not to ſcatter the ſeeds of diſcord, and to kindle the flames of war, in every corner of Europe. But Paul, regardleſs of the opinion or cenſures of mankind, held on

* Sandov. ii. 607. & Zuniga, 100. Thuan. lib. xvii. 609.

his own courſe with his wonted arrogance and violence. Theſe, although they ſeemed already to have exceeded all bounds, roſe to ſtill a greater height, upon the arrival of the duke of Guiſe in Italy.

That which the two princes of Lorrain foreſaw and deſired had happened. The duke of Guiſe was entruſted with the command of the army appointed to march to the pope's aſſiſtance. It conſiſted of twenty thouſand men, of the beſt troops in the ſervice of France. So high was the duke's reputation, and ſuch the general expectation of beholding ſome extraordinary exertion of his courage and abilities in a war into which he had precipitated his country, chiefly with the deſign of obtaining a field where he might diſplay his own talents, that many of the French nobility who had no command in the troops employed, accompanied him as volunteers. This army paſſed the Alps in an inclement ſeaſon, and advanced towards Rome without any oppoſition from the Spaniards, who, as they were not ſtrong enough to act in different parts, had collected all their forces in one body on the frontiers of Naples, for the defence of that kingdom.

Emboldened by the approach of the French, the pope let looſe all the fury of his reſentment againſt Philip, which notwithſtanding the natural violence of his temper, prudential conſiderations had hitherto obliged him to keep under ſome reſtraint. He named commiſſioners, [Feb. 12,] whom he empowered to paſs judgment in the ſuit, which the conſiſtorial advocate had commenced againſt Philip, in order to prove that he had forfeited the crown of Naples, by taking arms againſt the holy ſee, of which he was a vaſſal. He recalled all the nuncios [April 9] reſiding in the courts of Charles V. of Philip or any of their allies. This was levelled chiefly againſt cardinal Pole, the papal legate in the court of England, whoſe great merit, in having contributed ſo ſucceſsfully to reconcile that kingdom to the church of Rome, together with the expectation of farther ſervices,

which he might perform, was not sufficient to screen him from the resentment that he had incurred by his zealous endeavours to establish peace between the house of Austria and France. He commanded an addition to be made to the anathemas annually denounced against the enemies of the church on Maunday-Thursday, whereby he inflicted the censure of excommunication on the authors of the late invasion of the ecclesiastical territories, whatever their rank or dignity might be; and in consequence of this, the usual prayers for the emperor were omitted next day in the pope's chapel†.

But while the pope indulged himself in those wild and childish sallies of rage, either he neglected, or found that it exceeded his power, to take such measures as would have rendered his resentment really formidable, and fatal to his enemies. For when the duke of Guise entered Rome, where he was received with a triumphal pomp, which would have been more suitable if he had been returning after having terminated the war with glory, than when he was going to begin it with a doubtful chance of success, he found none of the preparations for war in such forwardness as cardinal Caraffa had promised, or he had expected. The papal troops were far inferior in number to the quota stipulated; no magazines sufficient for their subsistence were formed; nor was money for paying them provided. The Venetians, agreeably to that cautious maxim which the misfortunes of their state had first led them to adopt, and which was now become a fundamental principle in their policy, declared their resolution to preserve an exact neutrality, without taking any part in the quarrels of princes, so far superior to themselves in power. The other Italian states were either openly united in league with Philip, or secretly wished success to his arms against a pontiff, whose inconsiderate ambition had rendered Italy once more the seat of war.

The duke of Guise perceived that the whole weight of

† Pal. lib. xiii. 180. Mem. de Ribier, ii. 678.

the war would devolve on the French troops under his command; and became ſenſible, though too late, how imprudent it is to rely, in the execution of great enterpriſes, on the aid of feeble allies. Puſhed on, however, by the pope's impatience for action, as well as by his own deſire of performing ſome part of what he had ſo confidently undertaken, he marched towards Naples [April 13], and began his operations. But the ſucceſs of theſe fell far ſhort of his former reputation, of what the world expected, and of what he himſelf had promiſed. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of Civitella, a town of ſome importance on the Neapolitan frontier. But the obſtinacy with which the Spaniſh governor defended it, baffled all the impetuous efforts of the French valour, and obliged the duke of Guiſe, after a ſiege of three weeks, to retire from the town with diſgrace. He endeavoured to wipe off that ſtain, by advancing boldly towards the duke of Alva's camp, and offering him battle. But that prudent commander, ſenſible of all the advantages of ſtanding on the defenſive before an invading enemy, declined an engagement, and kept within his intrenchments; and adhering to his plan with the ſteadineſs of a Caſtilian, eluded, with great addreſs, all the duke of Guiſe's ſtratagems to draw him into action†. By this time ſickneſs began to waſte the French army; violent diſſenſions had ariſen between the duke of Guiſe and the commander of the pope's forces; the Spaniards renewed their incurſions into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; the pope, when he found, inſtead of the conqueſts and triumphs which he had fondly expected, that he could not ſecure his own territories from depredation, murmured, complained, and began to talk of peace. The duke of Guiſe, mortified to the laſt degree with having acted ſuch an inglorious part, not only ſolicited his court either to reinforce his army, or to recal him, but urged Paul to fulfil his engagements; and called on cardinal Caraffa, ſometimes with reproaches, ſometimes with threats, to make good

† Herrera Vida de Felipe, 181.

those magnificent promises, from a rash confidence in which he had advised his master to renounce the truce of Vaucelles, and to join in league with the pope.†

But while the French affairs in Italy were in this wretched situation, an unexpected event happened in the Low-Countries, which called the duke of Guise from a station wherein he could acquire no honour, to the most dignified and important charge which could be committed to a subject. As soon as the French had discovered their purpose of violating the truce of Vaucelles, not only by sending an army into Italy, but by attempting to surprise some of the frontier towns in Flanders, Philip, though willing to have avoided a rupture, determined to prosecute the war with such spirit, as should make his enemies sensible that his father had not erred, when he judged him to be so capable of government, that he had given up the reins into his hands. As he knew that Henry had been at great expence in fitting out the army under the duke of Guise, and that his treasury was hardly able to answer the exorbitant and endless demands of a distant war, he foresaw that all his operations in the Low-Countries must, of consequence, prove feeble, and be considered only as secondary to those in Italy. For that reason, he prudently resolved to make his principal effort in that place where he expected the French to be weakest, and to bend his chief force against that quarter where they would feel a blow most sensibly. With this view, he assembled in the Low-Countries an army of about fifty thousand men, the Flemings serving him on this occasion with that active zeal which subjects are wont to exert in obeying the first commands of a new sovereign. But Philip, cautious and provident, even at this early period of life, did not rest all his hopes of success on that formidable force alone.

He had been labouring for some time to engage the English to espouse his quarrel; and though it was manifestly

† Thuan. lib. xxviii. 614. Pallav. lib. xiii. 181. Burn. ii. App. 317.

the intereſt of that kingdom to maintain a ſtrict neutrality, and the people themſelves were ſenſible of the advantages which they derived from it; though he knew how odious his name was to the Engliſh, and how averſe they would be to co-operate with him in any meaſure, he nevertheleſs did not deſpair of accompliſhing his point. He relied on the affection with which the queen doated on him, which was ſo violent, that even his coldneſs and neglect had not extinguiſhed it; he knew her implicit reverence for his opinion, and her fond deſire of gratifying him in every particular. That he might work on theſe with greater facility and more certain ſucceſs, he ſet out for England. The queen, who, during her huſband's abſence, had languiſhed in perpetual dejection, reſumed freſh ſpirits on his arrival; and, without paying the leaſt attention either to the intereſt or to the inclinations of her people, entered warmly into all his ſchemes. In vain did her privy-council remonſtrate againſt the imprudence as well as danger of involving the nation in an unneceſſary war; in vain did they put her in mind of the ſolemn treaties of peace ſubſiſting between England and France, which the conduct of that nation had afforded her no pretext to violate. Mary, ſoothed by Philip's careſſes, or intimidated by the threats which his aſcendant over her emboldened him at ſome times to throw out, was deaf to every thing that could be urged in oppoſition to his ſentiments, and inſiſted with the greateſt vehemence on an immediate declaration of war againſt France. The council, though all Philip's addreſs and Mary's authority were employed to gain or overawe them, after ſtruggling long, yielded at laſt, not from conviction, but merely from deference to the will of their ſovereign. War was declared againſt France [June 20,] the only one perhaps againſt that kingdom into which the Engliſh ever entered with reluctance. As Mary knew the averſion of the nation to this meaſure, ſhe durſt not call a parliament in order to raiſe money for carrying on the war. She ſupplied this want, how-

ever, by a ſtretch of royal prerogative, not unuſual in that age; and levied large ſums on her ſubjects by her own authority. This enabled her to aſſemble a ſufficient body of troops, and to ſend eight thouſand men under the conduct of the earl of Pembroke to join Philip's army†.

Philip, who was not ambitious of military glory, gave the command of his army to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, and fixed his own reſidence at Cambray, that he might be at hand to receive the earlieſt intelligence of his motions, and to aid him with his councils. The duke opened the campaign with a maſterly ſtroke of addreſs, which juſtified Philip's choice, and diſcovered ſuch a ſuperiority of genius over the French generals, as almoſt inſured ſucceſs in his ſubſequent operations. He appointed the general rendezvous of his troops at a place conſiderably diſtant from the country which he deſtined to be the ſcene of action; and having kept the enemy in ſuſpenſe for a good time with regard to his intentions, he at laſt deceived them ſo effectually by the variety of his marches and counter-marches, as led them to conclude that he meant to bend all his force againſt the province of Champagne, and would attempt to penetrate into the kingdom on that ſide. In conſequence of this opinion, they drew all their ſtrength towards that quarter, and reinforcing the garriſons there, left the towns on other parts of the frontier deſtitute of troops ſufficient to defend them.

The duke of Savoy, as ſoon as he perceived that this feint had its full effect, turned ſuddenly to the right, advanced by rapid marches into Picardy, and ſending his cavalry, in which he was extremely ſtrong, before him, inveſted St. Quintin. This was a town deemed in that age of conſiderable ſtrength, and of great importance, as there were few fortified cities between it and Paris. The fortifications, however, had been much neglected; the garriſon, weakened by draughts ſent towards Champagne, did not a-

† Carte, iii. 337.

mount to a fifth part of the number requisite for its defence; and the governor, though a brave officer, was neither of rank, nor authority, equal to the command in a place of so much consequence, besieged by such a formidable army. A few days must have put the duke of Savoy in possession of the town, if the admiral de Coligny, who thought it concerned his honour to attempt saving a place of such importance to his country, and which lay within his jurisdiction as governor of Picardy, had not taken the gallant resolution of throwing himself into it, with such a body of men as he could collect on a sudden. This resolution he executed with great intrepidity, and, if the nature of the enterprise be considered, with no contemptible success; for though one half of his small body of troops were cut off, he, with the other, broke through the enemy, and entered the town. The unexpected arrival of an officer of such high rank and reputation, and who had exposed himself to such danger in order to join them, inspired the desponding garrison with courage. Every thing that the admiral's great skill and experience in the art of war could suggest, for annoying the enemy, or defending the town, was attempted; and the citizens, as well as the garrison, seconding his zeal with equal ardour, seemed to be determined that they would hold out to the last, and sacrifice themselves in order to save their country†.

The duke of Savoy, whom the English, under the earl of Pembroke, joined about this time, pushed on the siege with the greatest vigour. An army so numerous, and so well supplied with every thing requisite, carried on its approaches with great advantage against a garrison which was still so feeble that it durst seldom venture to disturb or retard the enemy's operations by sallies. The admiral, sensible of the approaching danger, and unable to avert it, acquainted his uncle the constable Montmorency, who had the command of the French army, with his situation, and pointed out to

† Thuan. lib. xix. 647.

him a method by which he might throw relief into the town. The constable, solicitous to save a town, the loss of which would open a passage for the enemy into the heart of France; and eager to extricate his nephew out of that perilous situation, in which zeal for the public had engaged him; resolved, though aware of the danger, to attempt what he desired. With this view, he marched from La Fere towards St. Quintin at the head of his army, which was not by one-half so numerous as that of the enemy, and having given the command of a body of chosen men to Coligny's brother Dandelot, who was colonel-general of the French infantry, he ordered him to force his way into the town by that avenue which the admiral had represented as most practicable, while he himself, with the main army, would give the alarm to the enemy's camp on the opposite side, and endeavour to draw all their attention towards that quarter. Dandelot executed his orders with greater intrepidity than conduct. [Aug. 10] He rushed on with such headlong impetuosity, that, though it broke the first body of the enemy which stood in their way, it threw his own soldiers into the utmost confusion; and as they were attacked in that situation by fresh troops which closed in upon them on every side, the greater part of them were cut in pieces, Dandelot, with about five hundred of the most adventurous and most fortunate, making good his entrance into the town.

Meanwhile the constable, in executing his part of the plan, advanced so near the camp of the besiegers, as rendered it impossible to retreat with safety in the face of an enemy so much superior in number. The duke of Savoy instantly perceived Montmorency's error, and prepared, with the presence of mind and abilities of a great general, to avail himself of it. He drew up his army in order of battle, with the greatest expedition, and watching the moment when the French began to file off towards La Fere, he detached all his cavalry, under the command of the count of Egmont,

to fall on their rear, while he himſelf, at the head of his infantry, advanced to ſupport him. The French at firſt retired in perfect order, and with a good countenance; but when they ſaw Egmont draw near with his formidable body of cavalry, the ſhock of which they were conſcious that they could not withſtand, the proſpect of imminent danger, added to diſtruſt of their general, whoſe imprudence every ſoldier now perceived, ſtruck them with general conſternation. They began inſenſibly to quicken their pace, and thoſe in the rear preſſed ſo violently on ſuch as were before them, that in a ſhort time their march reſembled a flight rather than a retreat. Egmont, obſerving their confuſion, charged them with the greateſt fury, and in a moment all their men at arms, the pride and ſtrength of the French troops in that age, gave way and fled with precipitation. The infantry, however, whom the conſtable, by his preſence and authority, kept to their colours, ſtill continued to retreat in good order, until the enemy brought ſome pieces of cannon to bear upon their centre, which threw them into ſuch confuſion, that the Flemiſh cavalry, renewing their attack, broke in, and the rout became univerſal. About four thouſand of the French fell in the field, and among theſe the duke of Anguien, a prince of the blood, together with ſix hundred gentlemen. The conſtable, as ſoon as he perceived the fortune of the day to be irretrievable, ruſhed into the thickeſt of the enemy, with a reſolution not to ſurvive the calamity which his ill-conduct had brought upon his country; but having received a dangerous wound, and being waſted with the loſs of blood, he was ſurrounded by ſome Flemiſh officers, to whom he was known, who protected him from the violence of the ſoldiers, and obliged him to ſurrender. Beſides the conſtable, the dukes of Montpenſier and Longueville, the marechal St. Andre, many officers of diſtinction, three hundred gentlemen, and near four thouſand private ſoldiers, were taken priſoners. All the colours belonging to the infantry, all the ammunition, and all the cannon,

two pieces excepted, fell into the enemy's hands. The victorious army did not lose above fourscore men*.

This battle, no less fatal to France than the ancient victories of Crecy and Agincourt, gained by the English on the same frontier, bore a near resemblance to those disastrous events, in the suddenness of the rout; in the ill-conduct of the commander in chief; in the number of persons of note slain or taken; and in the small loss sustained by the enemy. It filled France with equal consternation. Many inhabitants of Paris, with the same precipitancy and trepidation as if the enemy had been already at their gates, quitted the city, and retired into the interior provinces. The king, by his presence and exhortations, endeavoured to console and to animate such as remained, and applying himself with the greatest diligence to repair the ruinous fortifications of the city, prepared to defend it against the attack which he instantly expected. But happily for France, Philip's caution, together with the intrepid firmness of the admiral de Coligny, not only saved the capital from the danger to which it was exposed, but gained the nation a short interval, during which the people recovered from the terror and dejection occasioned by a blow no less severe than unexpected, and Henry had leisure to take measures for the public security, with the spirit which became the sovereign of a powerful and martial people.

Philip, immediately after the battle, visited the camp at St. Quintin, where he was received with all the exultation of military triumph; and such were his transports of joy on account of an event which threw so much lustre on the beginning of his reign, that they softened his severe and haughty temper into an unusual flow of courtesy. When the duke of Savoy approached, and was kneeling to kiss his hands, he caught him in his arms, and embracing him with warmth, "It becomes me," says he, "rather to kiss your

* Thuan. 650. Hærei Annal. Brabant. ii. 692. Herrera, 292.

hands, which have gained me ſuch a glorious and almoſt bloodleſs victory."

As ſoon as the rejoicings and congratulations on Philip's arrival were over, a council of war was held, in order to determine how they might improve their victory to the beſt advantage. The duke of Savoy, ſeconded by ſeveral of the ableſt officers formed under Charles V. inſiſted that they ſhould immediately relinquiſh the ſiege of St. Quintin, the reduction of which was now an object below their attention, and advance directly towards Paris; that as there were neither troops to oppoſe, nor any town of ſtrength to retard their march, they might reach that capital while under the full impreſſion of the aſtoniſhment and terror occaſioned by the rout of the army, and take poſſeſſion of it without reſiſtance. But Philip, leſs adventurous or more prudent than his generals, preferred a moderate but certain advantage, to an enterpriſe of greater ſplendour, but of more doubtful ſucceſs. He repreſented to the council the infinite reſources of a kingdom ſo powerful as France; the great number as well as martial ſpirit of its nobles; their attachment to their ſovereign; the manifold advantages with which they could carry on war in their own territories; and the unavoidable deſtruction which muſt be the conſequence of their penetrating too raſhly into the enemy's country, before they had ſecured ſuch a communication with their own as might render a retreat ſafe, if, upon any diſaſtrous event, that meaſure ſhould become neceſſary. On all theſe accounts, he adviſed the continuance of the ſiege, and his generals acquieſced the more readily in his opinion, as they made no doubt of being maſters of the town in a few days, a loſs of time of ſo little conſequence in the execution of their plan, that they might eaſily repair it by their ſubſequent activity*.

The weakneſs of the fortifications, and the ſmall number of the garriſon, which could no longer hope either for rein-

* Belcar. Commentar. de Reb. Gallic. 901.

forcement or relief, ſeemed to authoriſe this calculation of Philip's generals. But, in making it, they did not attend ſufficiently to the character of admiral de Coligny, who commanded in the town. A courage undiſmayed, and tranquil amidſt the greateſt dangers, an invention fruitful in reſources, a genius which rouſed and ſeemed to acquire new force upon every diſaſter, a talent of governing the minds of men, together with a capacity of maintaining his aſcendant over them even under circumſtances the moſt adverſe and diſtreſsful, were qualities which Coligny poſſeſſed in a degree ſuperior to any general of that age. Theſe qualities were peculiarly adapted to the ſtation in which he was now placed; and as he knew the infinite importance to his country of every hour which he could gain at this juncture, he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in contriving how to protract the ſiege, and to detain the enemy from attempting any enterpriſe more dangerous to France. Such were the perſeverance and ſkill with which he conducted the defence, and ſuch the fortitude as well as patience with which he animated the garriſon, that though the Spaniards, the Flemings, and the Engliſh, carried on the attack with all the ardour which national emulation inſpires, he held out the town ſeventeen days. He was taken priſoner at laſt [Aug. 27,] on the breach, overpowered by the ſuperior number of the enemy.

Henry availed himſelf, with the utmoſt activity, of the interval which the admiral's well-timed obſtinacy had afforded him. He appointed officers to collect the ſcattered remains of the conſtable's army; he iſſued orders for levying ſoldiers in every part of the kingdom; he commanded the ban and arriere ban of the frontier provinces inſtantly to take the field, and to join the duke of Nevers at Laon in Picardy; he recalled the greater part of the veteran troops which ſerved under the marechal Briſſac in Piedmont; he ſent courier after courier to the duke of Guiſe, requiring him, together with all his army, to return inſtantly for the defence of

their country; he dispatched one envoy to the grand signor, to solicit the assistance of his fleet, and the loan of a sum of money; he sent another into Scotland, to incite the Scots to invade the north of England, that, by drawing Mary's attention to that quarter, he might prevent her from reinforcing her troops which served under Philip. These efforts of the king were warmly seconded by the zeal of his subjects. The city of Paris granted him a free gift of three hundred thousand livres. The other great towns imitated the liberality of the capital, and contributed in proportion. Several noblemen of distinction engaged, at their own expence, to garrison and defend the towns which lay most exposed to the enemy. Nor was the general concern for the public confined to corporate bodies alone, or to those in the higher sphere of life, but diffusing itself among persons of every rank, each individual seemed disposed to act with as much vigour as if the honour of the king, and the safety of the state, had depended solely on his single efforts†.

Philip, who was no stranger either to the prudent measures taken by the French monarch for the security of his dominions, or to the spirit with which his subjects prepared to defend themselves, perceived, when it was too late, that he had lost an opportunity which could never be recalled, and that it was now vain to think of penetrating into the heart of France. He abandoned, therefore, without much reluctance, a scheme which was too bold and hazardous to be perfectly agreeable to his cautious temper; and employed his army, during the remainder of the campaign, in the sieges of Ham and Catelet. Of these, he soon became master; and the reduction of two such petty towns, together with the acquisition of St. Quintin, were all the advantages which he derived from one of the most decisive victories gained in that century. Philip himself, however, continued in high exultation on account of his success; and as all his passions were tinged with superstition, he, in memory of the battle

† Mem. de Ribier, ii. 701, 703.

of St. Quintin, which had been fought on the day consecrated to St. Laurence, vowed to build a church, a monastery, and a palace, in honour of that saint and martyr. Before the expiration of the year, he laid the foundation of an edifice, in which all these were united, at the Escurial in the neighbourhood of Madrid; and the same principle which dictated the vow, directed the building. For the plan of the work was so formed as to resemble a gridiron, which, according to the legendary tale, had been the instrument of St. Laurence's martyrdom. Notwithstanding the great and expensive schemes in which his restless ambition involved him, Philip continued the building with such perseverance for twenty-two years, and reserved such large sums for this monument of his devotion and vanity, that the monarchs of Spain are indebted to him for a royal residence, which, tho' not the most elegant, is certainly the most sumptuous and magnificent of any in Europe†.

The first account of that fatal blow which the French had received at St. Quintin was carried to Rome by the courier whom Henry had sent to recal the duke of Guise. As Paul, even with the assistance of his French auxiliaries, had hardly been able to check the progress of the Spanish arms, he foresaw that, as soon as he was deprived of their protection, his territories must be over-run in a moment. He remonstrated, therefore, with the greatest violence against the departure of the French army, reproaching the duke of Guise for his ill conduct, which had brought him into such an unhappy situation; and complaining of the king for deserting him so ungenerously under such circumstances. The duke of Guise's orders, however, were peremptory. Paul, inflexible as he was, found it necessary to accommodate his conduct to the exigency of his affairs, and to employ the mediation of the Venetians, and of Cosmo di Medici, in order to obtain peace. Philip, who had been forced unwillingly to a rupture with the pope, and who, even while success

† Colmenar Annales d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 136.

crowned his arms, doubted ſo much the juſtice of his own cauſe, that he had made frequent overtures of pacification, liſtened eagerly to the firſt propoſals of this nature from Paul, and diſcovered ſuch moderation in his demands, as could hardly have been expected from a prince elated with victory.

The duke of Alva on the part of Philip, and the cardinal Caraffa in the name of his uncle, met at Cavi, and both being equally diſpoſed to peace, they, after a ſhort conference, terminated the war by a treaty on the following terms: That Paul ſhould renounce his league with France, and maintain for the future ſuch a neutrality as became the common father of Chriſtendom; That Philip ſhould inſtantly reſtore all the towns of the eccleſiaſtical territory of which he had taken poſſeſſion; That the claims of the Caraffas to the dutchy of Paliano, and other demeſnes of the Colonnas, ſhould be referred to the deciſion of the republic of Venice; That the duke of Alva ſhould repair in perſon to Rome, and after aſking pardon of Paul in his own name, and in that of his maſter, for having invaded the patrimony of the church, ſhould receive the pope's abſolution from that crime. Thus Paul, through Philip's ſcrupulous timidity, finiſhed an unproſperous war without any detriment to the papal ſee. The conqueror appeared humble, and acknowledged his error; while he who had been vanquiſhed retained his uſual haughtineſs, and was treated with every mark of ſuperiority†. The duke of Alva, in terms of the treaty, repaired to Rome, and, in the poſture of a ſupplicant, kiſſed the feet, and implored the forgiveneſs of that very perſon whom his arms had reduced to the laſt extremity. Such was the ſuperſtitious veneration of the Spaniards for the papal character, that Alva, though perhaps the proudeſt man of the age, and accuſtomed from his infancy to a familiar intercouſe with princes, acknowledged that when he approached the pope, he was ſo much overawed, that his voice failed, and his preſence of mind forſook him‡.

† Pallav. lib. xiii. 183. F. Paul, 380. Herrera, vol. i. 310.
‡ Pallav. lib. xiii. 185. Summonte Iſtoria di Napoli, iv. 286.

But though this war, which at its commencement threatened mighty revolutions, was brought to an end without occasioning any alteration in thoſe ſtates which were its immediate object, it had produced during its progreſs effects of conſiderable conſequence in other parts of Italy. As Philip was extremely ſolicitous to terminate his quarrel with Paul as ſpeedily as poſſible, he was willing to make any ſacrifice in order to gain thoſe princes, who, by joining their troops to the papal and French army, might have prolonged the war. With this view, he entered into a negotiation with Octavio Farneſe, duke of Parma, and in order to ſeduce him from his alliance with France, he reſtored to him the city of Placentia, with the territory depending on it, which Charles V. had ſeized in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-ſeven, had kept from that time in his poſſeſſion, and had tranſmitted, together with his other dominions, to Philip.

This ſtep made ſuch a diſcovery of Philip's character and views to Coſmo di Medici, the moſt ſagacious as well as provident of all the Italian princes, that he conceived hopes of accompliſhing his favourite ſcheme of adding Sienna and its territories to his dominions in Tuſcany. As his ſucceſs in this attempt depended entirely on the delicacy of addreſs with which it ſhould be conducted, he employed all the refinements of policy in the negotiation which he ſet on foot for this purpoſe. He began with ſoliciting Philip, whoſe treaſury he knew to be entirely drained by the expence of the war, to repay the great ſums which he had advanced to the emperor during the ſiege of Sienna. When Philip endeavoured to elude a demand which he was unable to ſatisfy, Coſmo affected to be extremely diſquieted, and making no ſecret of his diſguſt, inſtructed his ambaſſador at Rome to open a negotiation with the pope which ſeemed to be the effect of it. The ambaſſador executed his commiſſion with ſuch dexterity, that Paul, imagining Coſmo to be entirely alienated from the Spaniſh intereſt, propoſed to him an al-

liance with France which ſhould be cemented by the marriage of his eldeſt ſon to one of Henry's daughters. Coſmo received the overture with ſuch apparent ſatisfaction, and with ſo many profeſſions of gratitude for the high honour of which he had the proſpect, that not only the pope's miniſters, but the French envoy at Rome, talked confidently, and with little reſerve, of the acceſſion of that important ally, as a matter certain and decided. The account of this was quickly carried to Philip; and Coſmo, who foreſaw how much it would alarm him, had diſpatched his nephew Ludovico de Toledo into the Netherlands, that he might be at hand to obſerve and take advantage of his conſternation, before the firſt impreſſion which it made ſhould in any degree abate. Coſmo was extremely fortunate in the choice of the inſtrument whom he employed. Toledo waited, with patience, until he diſcovered with certainty, that Philip had received ſuch intelligence of his uncle's negotiations at Rome, as muſt have filled his ſuſpicious mind with fear and jealouſy; and then craving an audience, he required payment of the money which had been borrowed by the emperor, in the moſt earneſt and peremptory terms. In urging that point, he artfully threw out ſeveral dark hints and ambiguous declarations, concerning the extremities to which Coſmo might be driven by a refuſal of this juſt demand, as well as by other grievances of which he had good reaſon to complain.

Philip, aſtoniſhed at an addreſs in ſuch a ſtrain from a prince ſo far his inferior as the duke of Tuſcany, and comparing what he now heard with the information which he had received from Italy, immediately concluded that Coſmo had ventured to aſſume this bold and unuſual tone on the proſpect of his union with France. In order to prevent the pope and Henry from acquiring an ally, who, by his abilities, as well as the ſituation of his dominions, would have added both reputation and ſtrength to their confederacy, he offered to grant Coſmo the inveſtiture of Sienna, if he would

consent to accept of it as an equivalent for the sums due to him, and engage to furnish a body of troops towards the defence of Philip's territories in Italy, against any power who should attack them. As soon as Cosmo had brought Philip to make this concession, which was the object of all his artifices and intrigues, he did not protract the negotiation by any unnecessary delay, or any excess of refinement, but closed eagerly with the proposal, and Philip, in spite of the remonstrances of his ablest counsellors, signed a treaty with him to that effect†.

As no prince was ever more tenacious of his rights than Philip, or less willing to relinquish any territory which he possessed, by what tenure soever he held it, these unusual concessions to the dukes of Parma and Tuscany, by which he wantonly gave up countries, in acquiring or defending which his father had employed many years, and wasted much blood and treasure, cannot be accounted for from any motive, but his superstitious desire of extricating himself out of the war which he had been forced to wage against the pope. By these treaties, however, the balance of power among the Italian states was poised with greater equality, and rendered less variable than it had been since it received the first violent shock from the invasion of Charles VIII. of France. From this period Italy ceased to be the great theatre, on which the monarchs of Spain, France, and Germany, contended for power or for fame. Their dissensions and hostilities, though as frequent and violent as ever, being excited by new objects, stained other regions of Europe with blood, and rendered them miserable, in their turn, by the devastations of war.

The duke of Guise left Rome on the same day [Sept. 29] that his adversary the duke of Alva made his humiliating submission to the pope. He was received in France as the guardian angel of the kingdom. His late ill success in Italy seemed to be forgotten, while his former services, par-

† Thuan. lib. xviii. 624. Herrera, i. 263, 275. Pallav. lib. xiii. 180.

ticularly his defence of Metz, were recounted with exaggerated praiſe; and he was welcomed in every city through which he paſſed, as the reſtorer of public ſecurity, who, after having ſet bounds by his conduct and valour to the victorious arms of Charles V. returned now, at the call of his country, to check the formidable progreſs of Philip's power. The reception which he met with from Henry was no leſs cordial and honourable. New titles were invented, and new dignities created, in order to diſtinguiſh him. He was appointed lieutenant-general in chief both within and without the kingdom, with a juriſdiction almoſt unlimited, and hardly inferior to that which was poſſeſſed by the king himſelf. Thus, through the ſingular felicity which attended the princes of Lorrain, the miſcarriage of their own ſchemes contributed to aggrandize them. The calamities of his country, and the ill-conduct of his rival the conſtable, exalted the duke of Guiſe to a height of dignity and power, which he could not have expected to attain by the moſt fortunate and moſt complete ſucceſs of his own ambitious projects.

The duke of Guiſe, eager to perform ſomething ſuitable to the high expectations of his countrymen, and that he might juſtify the extraordinary confidence which the king had repoſed in him, ordered all the troops, which could be got together, to aſſemble at Compeigne. Though the winter was well advanced, and had ſet in with extreme ſeverity, he placed himſelf at their head, and took the field. By Henry's activity and the zeal of his ſubjects, ſo many ſoldiers had been raiſed in the kingdom, and ſuch conſiderable reinforcements had been drawn from Germany and Swiſſerland, as formed an army reſpectable even in the eyes of a victorious enemy. Philip, alarmed at ſeeing it put in motion at ſuch an uncommon ſeaſon, began to tremble for his new conqueſts, particularly St. Quintin, the fortifications of which were hitherto but imperfectly repaired.

But the duke of Guiſe meditated a more important enterpriſe; and after amuſing the enemy with threatening ſuc-

cessively different towns on the frontiers of Flanders, he turned suddenly to the left, and invested Calais with his whole army [Jan. 1, 1558.] Calais had been taken by the English under Edward III. and was the fruit of that monarch's glorious victory at Crecy. Being the only place that they retained of their ancient and extensive territories in France, and which opened to them, at all times, an easy and secure passage into the heart of that kingdom, their keeping possession of it soothed the pride of the one nation as much as it mortified the vanity of the other. Its situation was naturally so strong, and its fortifications deemed so impregnable, that no monarch of France, how adventurous soever, had been bold enough to attack it. Even when the domestic strength of England was broken and exhausted by the bloody wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, and its attention entirely diverted from foreign objects, Calais had remained undisturbed and unthreatened. Mary and her council, composed chiefly of ecclesiastics, unacquainted with military affairs, and whose whole attention was turned towards extirpating heresy out of the kingdom, had not only neglected to take any precautions for the safety of this important place, but seemed to think that the reputation of its strength was alone sufficient for its security. Full of this opinion, they ventured, even after the declaration of war, to continue a practice which the low state of the queen's finances had introduced in times of peace. As the country adjacent to Calais was overflowed during the winter, and the marshes around it became impassable, except by one avenue, which the forts of St. Agatha and Newnham-bridge commanded, it had been the custom of the English to dismiss the greater part of the garrison towards the end of autumn, and to replace it in the spring. In vain did lord Wentworth, the governor of Calais, remonstrate against this ill-timed parsimony, and represent the possibility of his being attacked suddenly, while he had not troops sufficient to man the works. The privy-council treated these remonstrances with

ſcorn, as if they had flowed from the timidity or the rapaciouſneſs of the governor; and ſome of them, with that confidence which is the companion of ignorance, boaſted that they would defend Calais with their white rods againſt any enemy who ſhould approach it during winter†. In vain did Philip, who had paſſed through Calais as he returned from England to the Netherlands, warn the queen of the danger to which it was expoſed; and acquainting her with what was neceſſary for its ſecurity, in vain did he offer to reinforce the garriſon during winter with a detachment of his own troops. Mary's counſellors, though obſequious to her in all points wherein religion was concerned, diſtruſted, as much as the reſt of their countrymen, every propoſition that came from her huſband; and ſuſpecting this to be an artifice of Philip's in order to gain the command of the town, they neglected his intelligence, declined his offer, and left Calais with leſs than a fourth part of the garriſon requiſite for its defence.

His knowledge of this encouraged the duke of Guiſe to venture on an enterpriſe, that ſurpriſed his own countrymen no leſs than his enemies. As he knew that its ſucceſs depended on conducting his operations with ſuch rapidity as would afford the Engliſh no time for throwing relief into the town by ſea, and prevent Philip from giving him any interruption by land, he puſhed the attack with a degree of vigour little known in carrying on ſieges during that age. He drove the Engliſh from fort St. Agatha, at the firſt aſſault. He obliged them to abandon the fort of Newnham-bridge after defending it only three days. He took the caſtle which commanded the harbour by ſtorm; and on the eighth day after he appeared before Calais, compelled the governor to ſurrender, as his feeble garriſon, which did not exceed five hundred men, was worn out with the fatigue of ſuſtaining ſo many attacks, and defending ſuch extenſive works.

The duke of Guiſe, without allowing the Engliſh time

† Carte, iii. 345.

to recover from the consternation occasioned by this blow, immediately invested Guisnes, the garrison of which, though more numerous, defended itself with less vigour, and after standing one brisk assault, gave up the town. The castle of Hames was abandoned by the troops posted there, without waiting the approach of the enemy.

Thus, in a few days, during the depth of winter, and at a time when the fatal battle of St. Quintin had so depressed the sanguine spirit of the French, that their utmost aim was to protect their own country, without dreaming of making conquests on the enemy, the enterprising valour of one man drove the English out of Calais, after they had held it two hundred and ten years, and deprived them of every foot of land in a kingdom, where their dominions had been once very extensive. This exploit, at the same time that it gave an high idea of the power and resources of France to all Europe, set the duke of Guise, in the opinion of his countrymen, far above all the generals of the age. They celebrated his conquests with immoderate transports of joy; while the English gave vent to all the passions which animate a high-spirited people, when any great national calamity is manifestly owing to the ill conduct of their rulers. Mary and her ministers, formerly odious, were now contemptible in their eyes. All the terrors of her severe and arbitrary administration could not restrain them from uttering execrations and threats against those, who having wantonly involved the nation in a quarrel wherein it was noways interested, had by their negligence or incapacity brought irreparable disgrace on their country, and lost the most valuable possession belonging to the English crown.

The king of France imitated the conduct of its former conqueror, Edward III. with regard to Calais. He commanded all the English inhabitants to quit the town, and giving their houses to his own subjects, whom he allured to settle there by granting them various immunities, he left a numerous garrison, under an experienced governor, for their

defence. After this, his victorious army was conducted into quarters of refreshment, and the usual inaction of winter returned.

During these various operations, Ferdinand assembled the college of electors at Frankfort [Feb. 24,] in order to lay before them the instrument whereby Charles V. had resigned the Imperial crown, and transferred it to him. This he had hitherto delayed on account of some difficulties which had occurred concerning the formalities requisite in supplying a vacancy occasioned by an event, to which there was no parallel in the annals of the empire. These being at length adjusted, the prince of Orange executed the commission with which he had been entrusted by Charles; the electors accepted of his resignation; declared Ferdinand his lawful successor; and put him in possession of all the ensigns of the Imperial dignity.

But when the new emperor sent Gusman his chancellor to acquaint the pope with this transaction, to testify his reverence towards the holy see, and to signify that, according to form, he would soon dispatch an ambassador extraordinary to treat with his holiness concerning his coronation; Paul, whom neither experience nor disappointments could teach to bring down his lofty ideas of the papal prerogative to such a moderate standard as suited the genius of the times, refused to admit the envoy into his presence, and declared all the proceedings at Frankfort irregular and invalid. He contended that the pope, as the vicegerent of Christ, was entrusted with the keys both of spiritual and of civil government; that from him the Imperial jurisdiction was derived; that though his predecessors had authorised the electors to chuse an emperor whom the holy see confirmed, this privilege was confined to those cases when a vacancy was occasioned by death; that the instrument of Charles's resignation had been presented in an improper court, as it belonged to the pope alone to reject or to accept of it, and to nominate a person to fill the Imperial throne; that, setting aside

all theſe objections, Ferdinand's election laboured under two defects which alone were ſufficient to render it void, for the proteſtant electors had been admitted to vote, though, by their apoſtacy from the catholic faith, they had forfeited that and every other privilege of the electoral office; and Ferdinand, by ratifying the conceſſions of ſeveral diets in favour of heretics, had rendered himſelf unworthy of the Imperial dignity, which was inſtituted for the protection, not for the deſtruction, of the church. But after thundering out theſe extravagant maxims, he added, with an appearance of condeſcenſion, that if Ferdinand would renounce all title to the Imperial crown, founded on the election at Frankfort, make profeſſions of repentance, for his paſt conduct, and ſupplicate him, with due humility, to confirm Charles's reſignation, as well as his own aſſumption to the empire, he might expect every mark of favour from his paternal clemency and goodneſs. Guſman, though he had foreſeen conſiderable difficulties in his negotiation with the pope, little expected that he would have revived thoſe antiquated and wild pretenſions, which aſtoniſhed him ſo much that he hardly knew in what tone he ought to reply. He prudently declined entering into any controverſy concerning the nature or extent of the papal juriſdiction, and confined himſelf to the political conſiderations, which ſhould determine the pope to recognize an emperor already in poſſeſſion, he endeavoured to place them in ſuch a light, as he imagined could ſcarcely fail to ſtrike Paul, if he were not altogether blind to his own intereſt. Philip ſeconded Guſman's arguments with great earneſtneſs, by an ambaſſador whom he ſent to Rome on purpoſe, and beſought the pope to deſiſt from claims ſo unſeaſonable, as might not only irritate and alarm Ferdinand and the princes of the empire, but furniſh the enemies of the holy ſee with a new reaſon for repreſenting its juriſdiction as incompatible with the rights of princes, and ſubverſive of all civil authority. But Paul, who deemed it a crime to attend to any conſideration ſuggeſted by human prudence or

policy, when he thought himſelf called upon to aſſert the prerogatives of the papal ſee, remained inflexible; and during his pontificate, Ferdinand was not acknowledged as emperor by the court of Rome*.

While Henry was intent upon his preparations for the approaching campaign, he received accounts of the iſſue of his negotiations in Scotland. Long experience having at laſt taught the Scots the imprudence of involving their country in every quarrel between France and England, neither the ſolicitations of the French ambaſſador, nor the addreſs and authority of the queen regent, could prevail on them to take arms againſt a kingdom with which they were at peace. On this occaſion, the ardour of a martial nobility and of a turbulent people was reſtrained by regard for the public intereſt and tranquillity, which in former deliberations of this kind had been ſeldom attended to by a nation always prone to ruſh into every new war. But though the Scots adhered with ſteadineſs to their pacific ſyſtem, they were extremely ready to gratify the French king in another particular which he had given in charge to his ambaſſador.

The young queen of Scots had been affianced to the dauphin in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-eight, and having been educated ſince that time in the court of France, ſhe had grown up to be the moſt amiable, and one of the moſt accompliſhed princeſſes of that age. Henry demanded the conſent of her ſubjects to the celebration of the marriage, and a parliament, which was held for that purpoſe, appointed eight commiſſioners to repreſent the whole body of the nation at that ſolemnity, with power to ſign ſuch deeds as might be requiſite before it was concluded. In ſettling the articles of the marriage, the Scots took every precaution that prudence could dictate, in order to preſerve the liberty and independence of their country; while the French uſed every art to ſecure to the dauphin the conduct of affairs during

* Godleveus de Abdicat. Car. V. ap. Gold. Polit. Imper. 392. Pallav. lib. xiii. 189. Ribier, ii. 746, 759.

the queen's life, and the fucceffion of the crown on the event of her demife. [April 14] The marriage was celebrated with pomp fuitable to the dignity of the parties, and the magnificence of a court at that time the moft fplendid in Europe†. Thus Henry, in the courfe of a few months, had the glory of recovering an important poffeffion which had anciently belonged to the crown of France, and of adding to it the acquifition of a new kingdom. By this event, too, the duke of Guife acquired new confideration and importance; the marriage of his niece to the apparent heir of the crown, raifing him fo far above the condition of other fubjects, that the credit which he had gained by his great actions, feemed thereby to be rendered no lefs permanent than it was extenfive.

When the campaign opened foon after the dauphin's marriage, the duke of Guife was placed at the head of the army, with the fame unlimited powers as formerly. Henry had received fuch liberal fupplies from his fubjects, that the troops under his command were both numerous and well appointed; while Philip, exhaufted by the extraordinary efforts of the preceding year, had been obliged to difmifs fo many of his forces during the winter, that he could not bring an army into the field capable of making head againft the enemy. The duke of Guife did not lofe the favourable opportunity which his fuperiority afforded him. He invefted Thionville in the dutchy of Luxemburg, one of the ftrongeft towns on the frontier of the Netherlands, and of great importance to France by its neighbourhood to Metz; and, notwithftanding the obftinate valour with which it was defended, he forced it to capitulate [June 22] after a fiege of three weeks*.

But the fuccefs of this enterprife, which it was expected would lead to other conquefts, was more than counterba-

† Keith's Hiftory of Scotland, p. 73. Append. 13. Corps Diplom v. 21.

* Thuan. lib. xx. 690.

lanced by an event which happened in another part of the Low-Countries. The marechal de Termes, governor of Calais, having penetrated into Flanders without oppofition, invefted Dunkirk with an army of fourteen thoufand men, and took it by ftorm on the fifth day of the fiege. Hence he advanced towards Nieuport, which muft have foon fallen into his hands, if the approach of the count of Egmont with a fuperior army had not made it prudent to retreat. The French troops were fo much encumbered with the booty which they had got at Dunkirk, or by ravaging the open country, that they moved flowly; and Egmont, who had left his heavy baggage and artillery behind him, marched with fuch rapidity, that he came up with them near Gravelines, and attacked them with the utmoft impetuofity. De Termes, who had the choice of the ground, having pofted his troops to advantage in the angle formed by the mouth of the river Aa and the fea, received him with great firmnefs. Victory remained for fome time in fufpence, the defperate valour of the French, who forefaw the unavoidable deftruction that muft follow upon a rout in an enemy's country, counterbalanced the fuperior number of the Flemings, when one of thofe accidents to which human prudence does not extend, decided the conteft in favour of the latter. A fquadron of Englifh fhips of war, which was cruifing on the coaft, being drawn by the noife of the firing towards the place of the engagement, entered the river Aa, and turned its great guns againft the right wing of the French, with fuch effect, as immediately broke that body, and fpread terror and confufion through the whole army. The Flemings, to whom affiftance, fo unexpected, and fo feafonable, gave frefh fpirit, redoubled their efforts, that they might not lofe the advantage which fortune had prefented them, or give the enemy time to recover from their conftemation, and the rout of the French foon became univerfal. Near two thoufand were killed on the fpot; a greater number fell by the hands of the peafants, who, in revenge for the cruelty with

which their country had been plundered, purſued the fugitives, and maſſacred them without mercy; the reſt were taken priſoners, together with De Termes their general, and many officers of diſtinction.*

This ſignal victory, for which the count of Egmont was afterwards ſo ill requited by Philip, obliged the duke of Guiſe to relinquiſh all other ſchemes, and to haſten towards the frontier of Picardy, that he might oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy in that province. This diſaſter, however, reflected new luſtre on his reputation, and once more turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him, as the only general on whoſe arms victory always attended, and in whoſe conduct, as well as good fortune, they could confide in every danger. Henry reinforced the duke of Guiſe's army with ſo many troops drawn from the adjacent garriſons, that it ſoon amounted to forty thouſand men. That of the enemy, after the junction of Egmont with the duke of Savoy, was not inferior in number. They encamped at the diſtance of a few leagues from one another; and each monarch having joined his reſpective army, it was expected, after the viciſſitudes of good and bad ſucceſs during this and the former campaign, that a deciſive battle would at laſt determine, which of the rivals ſhould take the aſcendant for the future, and give law to Europe. But though both had it in their power, neither of them diſcovered any inclination to bring the determination of ſuch an important point to depend upon the uncertain iſſue of a ſingle battle. The fatal engagements at St. Quintin and Gravelines were too recent to be ſo ſoon forgotten, and the proſpect of encountering the ſame troops, commanded by the ſame generals who had twice triumphed over his arms, inſpired Henry with a degree of caution which was not common to him. Philip, of a genius averſe to bold operations in war, naturally leaned to cautious meaſures, and was not diſpoſed to hazard any thing againſt a general ſo fortunate and ſucceſsful as the duke of Guiſe.

* Thuan. lib. xx. 694.

Both monarchs, as if by agreement, ſtood on the defenſive, and fortifying their camps carefully, avoided every ſkirmiſh or rencounter that might bring on a general engagement.

While the armies continued in this inaction, peace began to be mentioned in each camp, and both Henry and Philip diſcovered an inclination to liſten to any overture that tended to re-eſtabliſh it. The kingdoms of France and Spain had been engaged during half a century in almoſt continual wars, carried on at great expence, and productive of no conſiderable advantage to either. Exhauſted by extraordinary and unceaſing efforts, which far exceeded thoſe to which the nations of Europe had been accuſtomed before the rivalſhip between Charles V. and Francis I. both nations longed ſo much for an interval of repoſe, in order to recruit their ſtrength, that their ſovereigns drew from them with difficulty the ſupplies neceſſary for carrying on hoſtilities. The private inclinations of both the kings concurred with thoſe of their people. Philip was prompted to wiſh for peace by his fond deſire of returning to Spain. Accuſtomed from his infancy to the climate and manners of that country, he was attached to it with ſuch extreme predeliction, that he never felt himſelf at eaſe in any other part of his dominions. But as he could not quit the Low-Countries, either with decency or ſafety, and venture on a voyage to Spain during the continuance of war, the proſpect of a pacification which would put it in his power to execute his favourite ſcheme, was highly acceptable. Henry was no leſs deſirous of being delivered from the burden and occupations of war, that he might have leiſure to turn all his attention, and bend the whole force of his government, towards ſuppreſſing the opinions of the reformers, which were ſpreading with ſuch rapidity in Paris and other great towns of France, that they began to grow formidable to the eſtabliſhed church.

Beſides theſe public and avowed conſiderations ariſing from the ſtate of the two hoſtile kingdoms, or from the wiſhes of their reſpective monarchs, there was a ſecret intrigue

carried on in the court of France, which contributed as much as either of the other, to haſten and to facilitate the negotiation of a peace. The conſtable Montmorency, during his captivity, beheld the rapid ſucceſs and growing favour of the duke of Guiſe with the envy natural to a rival. Every advantage gained by the princes of Lorrain he conſidered as a freſh wound to his own reputation, and he knew with what malevolent addreſs it would be improved to diminiſh his credit with the king, and to augment that of the duke of Guiſe. Theſe arts, he was afraid, might, by degrees, work on the eaſy and ductile mind of Henry, ſo as to efface all remains of his ancient affection towards himſelf. But he could not diſcover any remedy for this, unleſs he were allowed to return home, that he might try whether by his preſence he could defeat the artifices of his enemies, and revive thoſe warm and tender ſentiments which had long attached Henry to him, with a confidence ſo entire, as reſembled rather the cordiality of private friendſhip, than the cold and ſelfiſh connexion between a monarch and one of his courtiers. While Montmorency was forming ſchemes and wiſhes for his return to France with much anxiety of mind, but with little hope of ſucceſs, an unexpected incident prepared the way for it. The cardinal of Lorrain, who had ſhared with his brother in the king's favour, and participated of the power which that conferred, did not bear proſperity with the ſame diſcretion as the duke of Guiſe. Intoxicated with their good fortune, he forgot how much they had been indebted for their preſent elevation to their connexions with the dutcheſs of Valentinois, and vainly aſcribed all to the extraordinary merit of their family. This led him not only to neglect his benefactreſs, but to thwart her ſchemes, and to talk with a ſarcaſtic liberty of her character and perſon. That ſingular woman, who, if we may believe contemporary writers, retained the beauty and charms of youth at the age of threeſcore, and on whom it is certain that Henry ſtill doated with all the fondneſs of love, felt this in-

jury with ſenſibility, and ſet herſelf with eagerneſs to inflict the vengeance which it merited. As there was no method of ſupplanting the princes of Lorrain ſo effectually as by a coalition of intereſts with the conſtable, ſhe propoſed the marriage of her grand-daughter with one of his ſons, as the bond of their future union; and Montmorency readily gave his conſent to the match. Having thus cemented their alliance, the dutcheſs employed all her influence with the king, in order to confirm his inclinations towards peace, and induce him to take the ſteps neceſſary for attaining it. She inſinuated that any overture of that kind would come with great propriety from the conſtable, and if entruſted to the conduct of his prudence, could hardly fail of ſucceſs.

Henry, long accuſtomed to commit all affairs of importance to the management of the conſtable, and needing only this encouragement to return to his ancient habits, wrote to him immediately with his uſual familiarity and affection, empowering him at the ſame time to take the firſt opportunity of ſounding Philip and his miniſters with regard to peace. Montmorency made his application to Philip by the moſt proper channel. He opened himſelf to the duke of Savoy, who, notwithſtanding the high command to which he had been raiſed, and the military glory which he had acquired in the Spaniſh ſervice, was weary of remaining in exile, and languiſhed to return into his paternal dominions. As there was no proſpect of his recovering poſſeſſion of them by force of arms, he conſidered a definitive treaty of peace between France and Spain, as the only event by which he could hope to obtain reſtitution. Being no ſtranger to Philip's private wiſhes with regard to peace, he eaſily prevailed on him not only to diſcover a diſpoſition on his part towards accommodation, but to permit Montmorency to return, on his parole, to France, that he might confirm his own ſovereign in his pacific ſentiments. Henry received the conſtable with the moſt flattering marks of regard; abſence, inſtead of having abated or extinguiſhed the monarch's friend-

ſhip, ſeemed to have given it new ardour. Montmorency, from the moment of his appearance in court, aſſumed, if poſſible, a higher place than ever in his affection, and a more perfect aſcendant over his mind. The cardinal of Lorrain and the duke of Guiſe prudently gave way to a tide of favour too ſtrong for them to oppoſe, and confining themſelves to their proper departments, permitted, without any ſtruggle, the conſtable and dutcheſs of Valentinois to direct public affairs at their pleaſure. They ſoon prevailed on the king to nominate plenipotentiaries to treat of peace. Philip did the ſame. The abbey of Cercamp was fixed on as the place of congreſs; and all military operations were immediately terminated by a ſuſpenſion of arms.

While theſe preliminary ſteps were taking towards a treaty which reſtored tranquillity to Europe, Charles V. whoſe ambition had ſo long diſturbed it, ended his days in the monaſtery of St. Juſtus. When Charles entered this retreat, he formed ſuch a plan of life for himſelf, as would have ſuited the condition of a private gentleman of a moderate fortune. His table was neat, but plain; his domeſtics few; his intercourſe with them familiar; all the cumberſome and ceremonious forms of attendance on his perſon were entirely aboliſhed, as deſtructive of that ſocial eaſe and tranquillity which he courted, in order to ſoothe the remainder of his days. As the mildneſs of the climate, together with his deliverance from the burdens and cares of government, procured him, at firſt, a conſiderable remiſſion from the acute pains with which he had been long tormented; he enjoyed, perhaps, more complete ſatisfaction in this humble ſolitude, than all his grandeur had ever yielded him. The ambitious thoughts and projects which had ſo long engroſſed and diſquieted him, were quite effaced from his mind; far from taking any part in the political tranſactions of the princes of Europe, he reſtrained his curioſity even from any inquiry concerning them; and he ſeemed to view the buſy ſcene which he had abandoned with all the contempt and indiffe-

rence arifing from his thorough experience of its vanity, as well as from the pleafing reflection of having difentangled himfelf from its cares.

Other amufements and other objects now occupied him. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands; fometimes he rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horfe, the only one that he kept, attended by a fingle fervant on foot. When his infirmities confined him to his apartment, which often happened, and deprived him of thefe more active recreations, he either admitted a few gentlemen who refided near the monaftery to vifit him, and entertained them familiarly at his table; or he employed himfelf in ftudying mechanical principles, and in forming curious works of mechanifm, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. With this view he had engaged Turriano, one of the moft ingenious artifts of that age, to accompany him in his retreat. He laboured together with him in framing models of the moft ufeful machines, as well as in making experiments with regard to their refpective powers, and it was not feldom that the ideas of the monarch affifted or perfected the inventions of the artift. He relieved his mind, at intervals, with flighter and more fantaftic works of mechanifm, in fafhioning puppets, which, by the ftructure of internal fprings, mimicked the geftures and actions of men, to the aftonifhment of the ignorant monks, who beholding movements which they could not comprehend, fometimes diftrufted their own fenfes, and fometimes fufpected Charles and Turriano of being in compact with invifible powers. He was particularly curious with regard to the conftruction of clocks and watches; and having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is faid, with a mixture of furprife as well as regret, on his own folly, in having beftowed fo much time and labour on the more vain attempt of bringing mankind to a precife uniformity of fentiment con-

cerning the profound and myſterious doctrines of religion.

But in what manner ſoever Charles diſpoſed of the reſt of his time, he conſtantly reſerved a conſiderable portion of it for religious exerciſes. He regularly attended divine ſervice in the chapel of the monaſtery, every morning and evening; he took great pleaſure in reading books of devotion, particularly the works of St. Auguſtin, and St. Bernard; and converſed much with his confeſſor, and the prior of the monaſtery, on pious ſubjects. Thus did Charles paſs the firſt year of his retreat, in a manner not unbecoming a man perfectly diſengaged from the affairs of the preſent life, and ſtanding on the confines of a future world; either in innocent amuſements, which ſoothed his pains, and relieved a mind worn out with exceſſive application to buſineſs; or in devout occupations, which he deemed neceſſary in preparing for another ſtate.

But about ſix months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermiſſion than uſual, returned with a proportional increaſe of violence. His ſhattered conſtitution had not vigour enough remaining to withſtand ſuch a ſhock. It enfeebled his mind as much as his body, and from this period we hardly diſcern any traces of that ſound and maſculine underſtanding, which diſtinguiſhed Charles among his contemporaries. An illiberal and timid ſuperſtition depreſſed his ſpirit. He had no reliſh for amuſements of any kind. He endeavoured to conform, in his manner of living, to all the rigour of monaſtic auſterity. He deſired no other ſociety than that of monks, and was almoſt continually employed with them in chanting the hymns of the Miſſal. As an expiation for his ſins, he gave himſelf the diſcipline in ſecret with ſuch ſeverity, that the whip of cords which he employed as the inſtrument of his puniſhment, was found after his deceaſe tinged with his blood. Nor was he ſatisfied with theſe acts of mortification, which, however ſevere, were not unexampled. The timorous and diſtruſtful ſolicitude which always accompanies ſuperſtition,

ſtill continued to diſquiet him, and depreciating all the devout exerciſes in which he had hitherto been engaged, prompted him to aim at ſomething extraordinary, at ſome new and ſingular act of piety that would diſplay his zeal, and merit the favour of Heaven. The act on which he fixed was as wild and uncommon as any that ſuperſtition ever ſuggeſted to a weak and diſordered fancy. He reſolved to celebrate his own obſequies before his death. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monaſtery. His domeſtics marched thither in funeral proceſſion, with black tapers in their hands. He himſelf followed in his ſhroud. He was laid in his coffin with much ſolemnity. The ſervice for the dead was chanted, and Charles joined in the prayers which were offered up for the reſt of his ſoul, mingling his tears with thoſe which his attendants ſhed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony cloſed with ſprinkling holy water on the coffin in the uſual form, and all the aſſiſtants retiring, the doors of the chapel were ſhut. Then Charles roſe out of the coffin, and withdrew to his apartment, full of thoſe awful ſentiments which ſuch a ſingular ſolemnity was calculated to inſpire. But either the fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the impreſſion which this image of death left on his mind, affected him ſo much, that next day he was ſeized with a fever. His feeble frame could not long reſiſt its violence, and he expired on the twenty-firſt of September, after a life of fifty-eight years, ſix months, and twenty-five days*.

As Charles was the firſt prince of the age in rank and dignity, the part which he acted, whether we conſider the greatneſs, the variety, or the ſucceſs of his undertakings, was the moſt conſpicuous. It is from an attentive obſervation of his conduct, not from the exaggerated praiſes of the Spaniſh hiſtorians, or the undiſtinguiſhing cenſure of the French, that a juſt idea of Charles's genius and abilities is to

* Strada de Bello Belg. lib. i. p. 11. Thuan. 723. Sandov. ii. 609, &c. Miniana Contin. Marianæ, vol. iv. 216. Vera y Zuniga Vida de Carlos, p. 111.

be collected. He possessed qualities so peculiar, that they strongly mark his character, and not only distinguish him from the princes who were his contemporaries, but account for that superiority over them which he so long maintained. In forming his schemes, he was, by nature, as well as by habit, cautious and considerate. Born with talents which unfolded themselves slowly, and were late in attaining to maturity, he was accustomed to ponder every subject that demanded his consideration, with a careful and deliberate attention. He bent the whole force of his mind towards it, and dwelling upon it with a serious application, undiverted by pleasure, and hardly relaxed by any amusement, he revolved it, in silence, in his own breast. He then communicated the matter to his ministers, and after hearing their opinions, took his resolution with a decisive firmness, which seldom follows such slow and seemingly hesitating consultations. Of consequence, Charles's measures, instead of resembling the desultory and irregular sallies of Henry VIII. or Francis I. had the appearance of a consistent system, in which all the parts were arranged, all the effects were foreseen, and even every accident was provided for. His promptitude in execution was no less remarkable than his patience in deliberation. He did not discover greater sagacity in his choice of the measures which it was proper to pursue, than fertility of genius in finding out the means for rendering his pursuit of them successful. Though he had naturally so little of the martial turn, that during the most ardent and bustling period of life, he remained in the cabinet inactive, yet when he chose at length to appear at the head of his armies, his mind was so formed for vigorous exertions in every direction, that he acquired such knowledge in the art of war, and such talents for command, as rendered him equal in reputation and success to the most able generals of the age. But Charles possessed in the most eminent degree, the science which is of the greatest importance to a monarch, that of knowing men, and of adapting their talents to the various departments

which he allotted to them. From the death of Chievres to the end of his reign, he employed no general in the field, no minifter in the cabinet, no ambaffador to a foreign court, no governor of a province, whofe abilities were inadequate to the truft which he repofed in them. Though deftitute of that bewitching affability of manners, which gained Francis the hearts of all who approached his perfon, he was no ftranger to the virtues which fecure fidelity and attachment. He placed unbounded confidence in his generals; he rewarded their fervices with munificence; he neither envied their fame, nor difcovered any jealoufy of their power. Almoft all the generals who conducted his armies, may be placed on a level with thofe illuftrious perfonages who have attained the higheft eminence of military glory; and his advantages over his rivals are to be afcribed fo manifeftly to the fuperior abilities of the commanders whom he fet in oppofition to them, that this might feem to detract, in fome degree, from his own merit, if the talent of difcovering, and fteadinefs in employing fuch inftruments were not the moft undoubted proofs of a capacity for government.

There were, neverthelefs, defects in his political character which muft confiderably abate the admiration due to his extraordinary talents. Charles's ambition was infatiable; and though there feems to be no foundation for an opinion prevalent in his own age, that he had formed the chimerical project of eftablifhing an univerfal monarchy in Europe, it is certain that his defire of being diftinguifhed as a conqueror involved him in continual wars, which not only exhaufted and oppreffed his fubjects, but left him little leifure for giving attention to the interior police and improvement of his kingdoms, the great objects of every prince who makes the happinefs of his people the end of his government. Charles, at a very early period of life, having added the Imperial crown to the kingdoms of Spain, and to the hereditary dominions of the houfes of Auftria and Burgundy, this opened to him fuch a vaft field of enterprife, and engaged him in

schemes so complicated as well as arduous, that feeling his power to be unequal to the execution of them, he had often recourse to low artifices, unbecoming his superior talents, and sometimes ventured on such deviations from integrity, as were dishonourable in a great prince. His insidious and fraudulent policy appeared more conspicuous, and was rendered more odious by a comparison with the open and undesigning character of his contemporaries Francis I. and Henry VIII. This difference, though occasioned chiefly by the diversity of their tempers, must be ascribed in some degree, to such an opposition in the principles of their political conduct as affords some excuse for this defect in Charles's behaviour, though it cannot serve as a justification of it. Francis and Henry seldom acted but from the impulse of their passions, and rushed headlong towards the object in view. Charles's measures, being the result of cool reflection, were disposed into a regular system, and carried on upon a concerted plan. Persons who act in the former manner, naturally pursue the end in view, without assuming any disguise, or displaying much address. Such as hold the latter course, are apt, in forming, as well as in executing their designs, to employ such refinements as always lead to artifice in conduct, and often degenerate into deceit.

The circumstances transmitted to us, with respect to Charles's private deportment and character, are fewer and less interesting, than might have been expected from the great number of authors who have undertaken to write an account of his life. These are not the object of this history, which aims more at representing the great transactions of the reign of Charles V. and pointing out the manner in which they affected the political state of Europe, than at delineating his private virtues or defects.

The plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, and England, continued their conferences at Cercamp; and though each of them, with the usual art of negotiators, made at first very high demands in the name of their respective courts,

yet as they were all equally desirous of peace, they would have consented reciprocally to such abatements and restrictions of their claims, as must have removed every obstacle to an accommodation. The death of Charles V. was a new motive with Philip to hasten the conclusion of a treaty, as it increased his impatience for returning into Spain, where there was now no person greater or more illustrious than himself. But in spite of the concurring wishes of all the parties interested, an event happened which occasioned an unavoidable delay in their negotiations. About a month after the opening of the conferences at Cercamp, Mary of England ended her short and inglorious reign [Nov. 17], and Elizabeth, her sister, was immediately proclaimed queen with universal joy. As the powers of the English plenipotentiaries expired on the death of their mistress, they could not proceed until they received a commission and instructions from their new sovereign.

Henry and Philip beheld Elizabeth's elevation to the throne with equal solicitude. As during Mary's jealous administration, under the most difficult circumstances, and in a situation extremely delicate, that princess had conducted herself with prudence and address far exceeding her years, they had conceived an high idea of her abilities, and already formed expectations of a reign very different from that of her sister. Equally sensible of the importance of gaining her favour, both monarchs set themselves with emulation to court it, and employed every art in order to insinuate themselves into her confidence. Each of them had something meritorious, with regard to Elizabeth, to plead in his own behalf. Henry had offered her a retreat in his dominions, if the dread of her sister's violence should force her to fly for safety out of England. Philip, by his powerful intercession, had prevented Mary from proceeding to the most fatal extremities against her sister. Each of them endeavoured now to avail himself of the circumstances in his favour. Henry wrote to Elizabeth soon after her accession, with the

warmest expressions of gratitude and friendship. He represented the war which had unhappily been kindled between their kingdoms, not as a national quarrel, but as the effect of Mary's blind partiality to her husband, and fond compliance with all his wishes. He entreated her to disengage herself from an alliance which had proved so unfortunate to England, and to consent to a separate peace with him, without mingling her interests with those of Spain, from which they ought now to be altogether disjoined. Philip, on the other hand, unwilling to lose his connection with England, the importance of which, during a rupture with France, he had so recently experienced, not only vied with Henry in declarations of esteem for Elizabeth, and in professions of his resolution to cultivate the strictest amity with her, but, in order to confirm and perpetuate their union, he offered himself to her in marriage, and undertook to procure a dispensation from the pope for that purpose.

Elizabeth weighed the proposals of the two monarchs attentively, and with that provident discernment of her true interest, which was conspicuous in all her deliberations. She gave some encouragement to Henry's overture of a separate negotiation, because it opened a channel of correspondence with France, which she might find to be of great advantage, if Philip should not discover sufficient zeal and solicitude for securing to her proper terms in the joint treaty. But she ventured on this step with the most cautious reserve, that she might not alarm Philip's suspicious temper; and lose an ally in attempting to gain an enemy †. Henry himself by an unpardonable act of indiscretion, prevented her from carrying her intercourse with him to such a length as might have offended or alienated Philip. At the very time when he was courting Elizabeth's friendship with the greatest assiduity, he yielded with an inconsiderate facility to the solicitations of the princes of Lorrain, and allowed his daughter-in-law the queen of Scots to assume the title and arms of queen of

† Forbes, i. p. 4.

England. This ill-timed pretenſion, the ſource of many calamities to the unfortunate queen of Scots, extinguiſhed at once all the confidence that might have grown between Henry and Elizabeth, and left in its place diſtruſt, reſentment, and antipathy. Elizabeth ſoon found that ſhe muſt unite her intereſts cloſely with Philip's, and expect peace only from negotiations carried on in conjunction with him ‡.

As ſhe had granted a commiſſion, immediately after her acceſſion, to the ſame plenipotentiaries whom her ſiſter had employed, ſhe now inſtructed them to act in every point in concert with the plenipotentiaries of Spain, and to take no ſtep until they had preivouſly conſulted with them *. But though ſhe deemed it prudent to aſſume this appearance of confidence in the Spaniſh monarch, ſhe knew preciſely how far to carry it; and diſcovered no inclination to accept of that extraordinary propoſal of marriage which Philip had made to her. The Engliſh had expreſſed ſo openly their deteſtation of her ſiſter's choice of him, that it would have been highly imprudent to have exaſperated them by renewing that odious alliance. She was too well acquainted with Philip's harſh imperious temper, to think of him for a huſband. Nor could ſhe admit a diſpenſation from the pope to be ſufficient to authorize her marrying him, without condemning her father's divorce from Catharine of Aragon, and acknowledging of conſequence that her mother's marriage was null, and her own birth illegitimate. But though ſhe determined not to yield to Philip's addreſſes, the ſituation of her affairs, rendered it dangerous to reject them; ſhe returned her anſwer, therefore, in terms which were evaſive, but ſo tempered with reſpect, that though they gave him no reaſon to be ſecure of ſucceſs, they did not altogether extinguiſh his hopes.

By this artifice, as well as by the prudence with which ſhe

‡ Strype's Annals of the Reformation, i. 11. Carte's Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 375.

* Forbes's Full View, i. p. 37. 40.

concealed her ſentiments and intentions concerning religion, for ſome time after her acceſſion, ſhe ſo far gained upon Philip, that he warmly eſpouſed her intereſt in the conferences which were renewed at Cercamp, and afterwards removed to Cateau-Cambreſis [Feb. 6, 1559.] A definitive treaty, which was to adjuſt the claims and pretenſions of ſo many princes, required the examination of ſuch a variety of intricate points, and led to ſuch infinite and minute details, as drew out the negotiations to a great length. But the conſtable Montmorency exerted himſelf with ſuch indefatigable zeal and induſtry, repairing alternately to the courts of Paris and Bruſſels, in order to obviate or remove every difficulty, that all points in diſpute were adjuſted at length in ſuch a manner, as to give entire ſatisfaction in every particular to Henry and Philip; and the laſt hand was ready to be put to the treaty between them.

The claims of England remained as the only obſtacle to retard it. Elizabeth demanded the reſtitution of Calais in the moſt peremptory tone, as an eſſential condition of her conſenting to peace; Henry refuſed to give up that important conqueſt; and both ſeemed to have taken their reſolution with unalterable firmneſs. Philip warmly ſupported Elizabeth's pretenſions to Calais, not merely from a principle of equity towards the Engliſh nation, that he might appear to have contributed to their recovering what they had loſt by eſpouſing his cauſe; nor ſolely with a view of ſoothing Elizabeth by this manifeſtation of zeal for her intereſt; but in order to render France leſs formidable, by ſecuring to her ancient enemy this eaſy acceſs into the heart of the kingdom. The earneſtneſs, however, with which he ſeconded the arguments of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries, ſoon began to relax. During the courſe of the negotiation, Elizabeth, who now felt herſelf firmly ſeated on her throne, began to take ſuch open and vigorous meaſures not only for overturning all that her ſiſter had done in favour of popery, but for eſtabliſhing the proteſtant church on a firm foundation, as convinced Philip

that his hopes of an union with her had been from the beginning vain, and were now desperate. From that period, his interpositions in her favour became more cold and formal, flowing merely from a regard to decorum, or from the consideration of remote political interests. Elizabeth, having reason to expect such an alteration in his conduct, quickly perceived it. But as nothing would have been of greater detriment to her people, or more inconsistent with her schemes of domestic administration, than the continuance of war, she saw the necessity of submitting to such conditions as the situation of her affairs imposed, and that she must reckon upon being deserted by an ally who was now united to her by a very feeble tie, if she did not speedily reduce her demands to what was moderate and attainable. She accordingly gave new instructions to her ambassadors; and Philip's plenipotentiaries acting as mediators beween the French and them*, an expedient was fallen upon which, in some degree, justified Elizabeth's departing from the rigour of her first demand with regard to Calais. All lesser articles were settled without much discussion or delay. Philip, that he might not appear to have abandoned the English, insisted that the treaty between Henry and Elizabeth should be concluded in form, before that between the French monarch and himself. The one was signed on the second day of April, the other on the day following.

The treaty of peace between France and England contained no articles of real importance, but that which respected Calais. It was stipulated, That the king of France should retain possession of that town, with all its dependencies, during eight years; That at the expiration of that term, he should restore it to England; That in case of non-performance, he should forfeit five hundred thousand crowns, for payment of which sum, seven or eight wealthy merchants, who were not his subjects, should grant security; That five persons of distinction should be given as hostages

* Forbes, i. 59.

until that ſecurity were provided; That, although the forfeit of five hundred thouſand crowns ſhould be paid, the right of England to Calais ſhould ſtill remain entire, in the ſame manner as if the term of eight years were expired; That the king and queen of Scotland ſhould be included in the treaty; That if they, or the French king, ſhould violate the peace by any hoſtile action, Henry ſhould be obliged inſtantly to reſtore Calais; That on the other hand, if any breach of the treaty proceeded from Elizabeth, then Henry and the king and queen of Scots were abſolved from all the engagements which they had come under by this treaty.

Notwithſtanding the ſtudied attention with which ſo many precautions were taken, it is evident that Henry did not intend the reſtitution of Calais, nor is it probable that Elizabeth expected it. It was hardly poſſible that ſhe could maintain, during the courſe of eight years, ſuch perfect concord both with France and Scotland, as not to afford Henry ſome pretext for alledging that ſhe had violated the treaty. But even if that term ſhould elapſe without any ground for complaint, Henry might then chuſe to pay the ſum ſtipulated, and Elizabeth had no method of aſſerting her right but by force of arms. However, by throwing the articles in the treaty with regard to Calais into this form, Elizabeth ſatisfied her ſubjects of every denomination; ſhe gave men of diſcernment a ſtriking proof of her addreſs, in palliating what ſhe could not prevent; and amuſing the multitude, to whom the ceſſion of ſuch an important place would have appeared altogether infamous, with the proſpect of recovering in a ſhort time that favourite poſſeſſion.

The expedient which Montmorency employed, in order to facilitate the concluſion of peace between France and Spain, was the negotiating two treaties of marriage, one between Elizabeth, Henry's eldeſt daughter, and Philip, who ſupplanted his ſon, the unfortunate Don Carlos, to whom that princeſs had been promiſed in the former conferences at Cercamp; the other between Margaret, Henry's

only ſiſter, and the duke of Savoy. For however feeble the ties of blood may often be among princes, or how little ſoever they may regard them when puſhed on to act by motives of ambition, they aſſume on other occaſions the appearance of being ſo far influenced by theſe domeſtic affections, as to employ them to juſtify meaſures and conceſſions which they find to be neceſſary, but know to be impolitic or diſhonourable. Such was the uſe Henry made of the two marriages to which he gave his conſent. Having ſecured an honourable eſtabliſhment for his ſiſter and his daughter, he, in conſideration of theſe, granted terms both to Philip and the duke of Savoy, of which he would not, on any other account, have ventured to approve.

The principal articles in the treaty between France and Spain were, That ſincere and perpetual amity ſhould be eſtabliſhed between the two crowns and their reſpective allies; That the two monarchs ſhould labour in concert to procure the convocation of a general council, in order to check the progreſs of hereſy, and reſtore unity and concord to the Chriſtian church; That all conqueſts made by either party, on this ſide of the Alps, ſince the commencement of the war in one thouſand five hundred and fifty-one, ſhould be mutually reſtored; That the dutchy of Savoy, the principality of Piedmont, the country of Breſſe, and all the other territories formerly ſubject to the dukes of Savoy, ſhould be reſtored to Emanuel Philibert, immediately after the celebration of his marriage with Margaret of France, the towns of Turin, Quiers, Pignerol, Chivaz, and Villanova excepted, of which Henry ſhould keep poſſeſſion until his claims to theſe places, in right of his grandmother, ſhould be tried and decided in courſe of law; That as long as Henry retained theſe places in his hands, Philip ſhould be at liberty to keep garriſons in the towns of Varcelli and Aſti; That the French king ſhould immediately evacuate all the places which he held in Tuſcany and the Sienneſe, and renounce all future pretenſions to them; That he ſhould reſtore the

marquisate of Montferrat to the duke of Mantua; That he should receive the Genoese into favour, and give up to them the towns which he had conquered in the island of Corsica; That none of the princes or states, to whom these cessions were made, should call their subjects to account for any part of their conduct while under the dominion of their enemies, but should bury all past transactions in oblivion. The pope, the emperor, the kings of Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Portugal, the king and queen of Scots, and almost every prince and state in Christendom, were comprehended in this pacification as the allies either of Henry or of Philip†.

Thus, by this famous treaty, peace was re-established in Europe. All the causes of discord which had so long embroiled the powerful monarchs of France and Spain, which had transmitted hereditary quarrels and wars from Charles to Philip, and from Francis to Henry, seemed to be wholly removed, or finally terminated. The French alone complained of the unequal conditions of a treaty, into which an ambitious minister, in order to recover his liberty, and an artful mistress, that she might gratify her resentment, had seduced their too easy monarch. They exclaimed loudly against the folly of giving up to the enemies of France an hundred and eighty-nine fortified places, in the Low-Countries or in Italy, in return for the three insignificant towns of St. Quintin, Ham, and Catelet. They considered it as an indelible stain upon the glory of the nation, to renounce in one day territories so extensive, and so capable of being defended, that the enemy could not have hoped to wrest them out of their hands, after many years of victory.

But Henry, without regarding the sentiments of his people, or being moved by the remonstrances of his council, ratified the treaty, and executed with great fidelity whatever he had stipulated to perform. The duke of Savoy repaired with a numerous retinue to Paris, in order to celebrate his marriage with Henry's sister. The duke of Alva was sent

† Recueil des Traitez, tom. ii. 287.

to the ſame capital, at the head of a ſplendid embaſſy, to eſpouſe Elizabeth in the name of his maſter. They were received with extraordinary magnificence by the French court. Amidſt the rejoicings and feſtivities on that occaſion, Henry's days were cut ſhort by a ſingular and tragical accident [July 10.] His ſon, Francis II. a prince under age, of a weak conſtitution, and of a mind ſtill more feeble, ſucceeded him. Soon after, Paul ended his violent and imperious pontificate, at enmity with all the world, and diſguſted even with his own nephews. They, perſecuted by Philip, and deſerted by the ſucceeding pope, whom they had raiſed by their influence to the papal throne, were condemned to the puniſhment which their crimes and ambition had merited, and their death was as infamous as their lives had been criminal. Thus moſt of the perſonages, who had long ſuſtained the principal characters on the great theatre of Europe, diſappeared about the ſame time. A more known period of hiſtory opens at this æra; other actors enter upon the ſtage, with different views, as well as different paſſions; new conteſts aroſe, and new ſchemes of ambition occupied and diſquieted mankind.

Upon reviewing the tranſactions of any active period, in the hiſtory of civiliſed nations, the changes which are accompliſhed appear wonderfully diſproportioned to the efforts which have been exerted. Conqueſts are never very extenſive or rapid, but among nations whoſe progreſs in improvement is extremely unequal. When Alexander the Great, at the head of a gallant people, of ſimple manners, and formed to war by admirable military inſtitutions, invaded a ſtate ſunk in luxury, and enervated by exceſſive refinement; when Ghenchizcan and Tamerlane, with their armies of hardy barbarians, poured in upon nations, enfeebled by the climate in which they lived, or by the arts and commerce which they cultivated, theſe conquerors, like a torrent, ſwept every thing before them, ſubduing kingdoms and provinces in as ſhort a ſpace of time as was requiſite to march through them. But

when nations are in a ſtate ſimilar to each other, and keep equal pace in their advances towards refinement, they are not expoſed to the calamity of ſudden conqueſts. Their acquiſitions of knowledge, their progreſs in the art of war, their political ſagacity and addreſs, are nearly equal. The fate of ſtates in this ſituation, depends not on a ſingle battle. Their internal reſources are many and various. Nor are they themſelves alone intereſted in their own ſafety, or active in their own defence. Other ſtates interpoſe, and balance any temporary advantage which either party may have acquired. After the fierceſt and moſt lengthened conteſt, all the rival nations are exhauſted, none are conquered. At length they find it neceſſary to conclude a peace, which reſtores to each almoſt the ſame power and the ſame territories of which they were formerly in poſſeſſion.

Such was the ſtate of Europe during the reign of Charles V. No prince was ſo much ſuperior to the reſt in power, as to render his efforts irreſiſtible, and his conqueſts eaſy. No nation had made progreſs in improvement ſo far beyond its neighbours, as to have acquired a very manifeſt pre-eminence. Each ſtate derived ſome advantage, or was ſubject to ſome inconvenience from its ſituation or its climate; each was diſtinguiſhed by ſomething peculiar in the genius of its people, or the conſtitution of its government. But the advantages poſſeſſed by one ſtate, were counterbalanced by circumſtances favourable to others; and this prevented any from attaining ſuch ſuperiority as might have been fatal to all. The nations of Europe in that age, as in the preſent, were like one great family; there were ſome features common to all, which fixed a reſemblance; there were certain peculiarities conſpicuous in each, which marked a diſtinction. But there was not among them that wide diverſity of character and of genius which, in almoſt every period of hiſtory, hath exalted the Europeans above the inhabitants of the other quarters of the globe, and ſeems to have deſtined the one to rule, and the other to obey.

But though the near resemblance and equality in improvement among the different nations of Europe prevented the reign of Charles V. from being distinguished by such sudden and extensive conquests as occur in some other periods of history, yet, during the course of his administration, all the considerable states in Europe suffered a remarkable change in their political situation, and felt the influence of events, which have not hitherto spent their force, but still continue to operate in a greater or in a less degree. It was during his reign, and in consequence of the perpetual efforts to which his enterprising ambition roused him, that the different kingdoms of Europe acquired internal vigour; that they discerned the resources of which they were possessed; that they came both to feel their own strength, and to know how to make it formidable to others. It was during his reign, too, that the different kingdoms of Europe, which in former times seemed frequently to act as if they had been single and disjoined, became so thoroughly acquainted, and so intimately connected with each other, as to form one great political system, in which each took a station, wherein it has remained since that time with less variation than could have been expected after the events of two active centuries,

The progress, however, and acquisitions of the house of Austria, were not only greater than those of any other power, but more discernable and conspicuous. I have already enumerated the extensive territories which descended to Charles from his Austrian, Burgundian, and Spanish ancestors *. To these he himself added the Imperial dignity; and, as if all this had been too little, the bounds of the habitable globe seemed to be extended, and a new world was subjected to his command. Upon his resignation, the Burgundian provinces, and the Spanish kingdoms with their dependencies, both in the old and new worlds, devolved to Philip. But Charles transmitted his dominions to his son, in a condition very different from that in which he himself had

*Vol. II. p. 1.

received them. They were augmented by the acceſſion of new provinces; they were habituated to obey an adminiſtration no leſs vigorous than ſteady; they were accuſtomed to expenſive and perſevering efforts, which, though neceſſary in the conteſts between civilized nations, had been little known in Europe before the ſixteenth century. The provinces of Frieſland, Utrecht, and Overyſſel, which he acquired by purchaſe from their former proprietors, and the dutchy of Gueldres, of which he made himſelf maſter, partly by force of arms, partly by the arts of negotiation, were additions of great value to his Burgundian dominions. Ferdinand and Iſabella tranſmitted to him all the provinces of Spain, from the bottom of the Pyrenees to the frontiers of Portugal; but as he maintained a perpetual peace with that kingdom, amidſt the various efforts of his enterpriſing ambition, he made no acquiſition of territory in that quarter.

Charles had gained, however, a vaſt acceſſion of power in this part of his dominions. By his ſucceſs in the war with the commons of Caſtile, he exalted the regal prerogative upon the ruins of the privileges which formerly belonged to the people. Though he allowed the name of the Cortes to remain, and the formality of holding it to be continued; he reduced its authority and juriſdiction almoſt to nothing, and modelled it in ſuch a manner, that it became rather a junto of the ſervants of the crown, than an aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the people. One member of the conſtitution being thus lopped off, it was impoſſible but that the other muſt feel the ſtroke, and ſuffer by it. The ſuppreſſion of the popular power rendered the ariſtocratical leſs formidable. The grandees, prompted by the warlike ſpirit of the age, or allured by the honours which they enjoyed in a court, exhauſted their fortunes in military ſervice, or in attending on the perſon of their prince. They did not dread, perhaps did not obſerve, the dangerous progreſs of the royal authority, which, leaving them the vain diſtinction of being covered in preſence of their ſovereign, ſtripped them, by degrees,

of that real power which they poſſeſſed while they formed one body, and acted in concert with the people. Charles's ſucceſs in aboliſhing the privileges of the commons, and in breaking the power of the nobles of Caſtile, encouraged Philip to invade the liberties of Aragon, which were ſtill more extenſive. The Caſtilians, accuſtomed to ſubjection themſelves, aſſiſted in impoſing the yoke on their more happy and independent neighbours. The will of the ſovereign became the ſupreme law in all the kingdoms of Spain; and princes who were not checked in forming their plans by the jealouſy of the people, nor controlled in executing them by the power of the nobles, could both aim at great objects, and call forth the whole ſtrength of the monarchy in order to attain them.

As Charles, by extending the royal prerogative, rendered the monarchs of Spain maſters at home, he added new dignity and power to their crown by his foreign acquiſitions. He ſecured to Spain the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples, which Ferdinand had uſurped by fraud, and held with difficulty. He united the dutchy of Milan, one of the moſt fertile and populous Italian provinces, to the Spaniſh crown; and left his ſucceſſors, even without taking their other territories into the account, the moſt conſiderable princes in Italy, which had been long the theatre of contention to the great powers of Europe, and in which they had ſtruggled with emulation to obtain the ſuperiority. When the French, in conformity to the treaty of Chateau-Cambreſis, withdrew their forces out of Italy, and finally relinquiſhed all their ſchemes of conqueſt on that ſide of the Alps, the Spaniſh dominions then roſe in importance, and enabled their kings, as long as the monarchy retained any degree of vigour, to preſerve the chief ſway in all the tranſactions of that country. But whatever acceſſion, either of interior authority or of foreign dominion, Charles gained for the monarchs of Spain in Europe, was inconſiderable when compared with his acquiſitions in the new world. He add-

ed there, not provinces, but empires to his crown. He conquered territories of ſuch immenſe extent; he diſcovered ſuch inexhauſtible veins of wealth, and opened ſuch boundleſs proſpects of every kind, as muſt have rouſed his ſucceſſor, and have called him forth to action, though his ambition had been much leſs ardent than that of Philip, and muſt have rendered him not only enterpriſing but formidable.

While the elder branch of the Auſtrian family roſe to ſuch pre-eminence in Spain, the younger, of which Ferdinand was the head, grew to be conſiderable in Germany; the ancient hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria in Germany, united to the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, which Ferdinand had acquired by marriage, formed a reſpectable power; and when the Imperial dignity was added to theſe, Ferdinand poſſeſſed territories more extenſive than had belonged to any prince, Charles V. excepted, who had been at the head of the empire for ſeveral ages. Fortunately for Europe, the diſguſt which Philip conceived on account of Ferdinand's refuſing to relinquiſh the Imperial crown in his favour, not only prevented for ſome time the ſeparate members of the houſe of Auſtria from acting in concert, but occaſioned between them a viſible alienation and rivalſhip. By degrees, however, regard to the intereſt of their family extinguiſhed this impolitical animoſity. The confidence which was natural returned; the aggrandizing of the houſe of Auſtria became the common object of all their ſchemes; they gave and received aſſiſtance alternately towards the execution of them; and each derived conſideration and importance from the other's ſucceſs. A family ſo great and ſo aſpiring, became the general object of jealouſy and terror. All the power, as well as policy, of Europe were exerted during a century, in order to check and humble it. Nothing can give a more ſtriking idea of the aſcendant which it had acquired, and of the terror which it had inſpired, than that after its vigour was ſpent with

extraordinary exertions of its ſtrength, after Spain was become only the ſhadow of a great name, and its monarchs were ſunk into debility and dotage, the houſe of Auſtria ſtill continued to be formidable. The nations of Europe had ſo often felt its ſuperior power, and had been ſo conſtantly employed in guarding againſt it, that the dread of it became a kind of political habit, the influence of which remained when the cauſes which had formed it ceaſed to exiſt.

While the houſe of Auſtria went on with ſuch ſucceſs in enlarging its dominions, France made no conſiderable acquiſition of new territory. All its ſchemes of conqueſt in Italy had proved abortive; it had hitherto obtained no eſtabliſhment of conſequence in the new world; and after the continued and vigorous efforts of four ſucceſſive reigns, the confines of the kingdom were much the ſame as Louis XI. had left them. But though France made not ſuch large ſtrides towards dominion as the houſe of Auſtria, it continued to advance by ſteps which were more ſecure, becauſe they were gradual and leſs obſerved. The conqueſt of Calais put it out of the power of the Engliſh to invade France but at their utmoſt peril, and delivered the French from the dread of their ancient enemies, who, previous to that event, could at any time penetrate into the kingdom by that avenue, and thereby retard or defeat the execution of their beſt concerted enterpriſes againſt any foreign power. The important acquiſition of Metz covered that part of their frontier which formerly was moſt feeble, and lay moſt expoſed to inſult. France, from the time of its obtaining theſe additional ſecurities againſt external invaſion, muſt be deemed the moſt powerful kingdom in Europe, and is more fortunately ſituated than any on the continent either for conqueſt or defence. From the confines of Artois to the bottom of the Pyrenees, and from the Britiſh channel to the frontiers of Savoy and the coaſt of the Mediterranean, its territories lay compact and unmingled with thoſe of any other power.

Several of the conſiderable provinces, which had contracted a ſpirit of independence by their having been long ſubject to the great vaſſals of the crown, who were often at variance or at war with their maſter, were now accuſtomed to recognize and to obey one ſovereign. As they became members of the ſame monarchy, they aſſumed the ſentiments of that body into which they were incorporated, and co-operated with zeal towards promoting its intereſt and honour. The power and influence wreſted from the nobles were ſeized by the crown. The people were not admitted to ſhare in theſe ſpoils; they gained no new privilege; they acquired no additional weight in the legiſlature. It was not for the ſake of the people, but in order to extend their own prerogative, that the monarchs of France had laboured to humble their great vaſſals. Satisfied with having brought them under entire ſubjection to the crown, they diſcovered no ſolicitude to free the people from their ancient dependence on the nobles whom they held, and by whom they were often oppreſſed.

A monarch, at the head of a kingdom thus united at home and ſecure from abroad, was entitled to form great deſigns, becauſe he felt himſelf in a condition to execute them. The foreign wars which had continued with little interruption from the acceſſion of Charles VIII. had not only cheriſhed and augmented the martial genius of the nation, but by inuring the troops during the courſe of long ſervice to the fatigues of war, and accuſtoming them to obedience, had added the force of diſcipline to their natural ardour. A gallant and active body of nobles, who conſidered themſelves as idle and uſeleſs, unleſs when they were in the field; who were hardly acquainted with any paſtime or exerciſe but what was military; and who knew no road to power, or fame, or wealth, but war, would not have ſuffered their ſovereign to remain long in inaction. The people, little acquainted with the arts of peace, and always ready to take arms at the command of their ſuperiors, were accuſtomed, by the expence of

long wars carried on in diſtant countries, to bear impoſitions, which, however inconſiderable they may ſeem if eſtimated by the exorbitant rate of modern exactions, appear immenſe when compared with the ſums levied in France, or in any other country of Europe, previous to the reign of Louis XI. As all the members of which the ſtate was compoſed were thus impatient for action, and capable of great efforts, the ſchemes and operations of France muſt have been no leſs formidable to Europe than thoſe of Spain. The ſuperior advantages of its ſituation, the contiguity and compactneſs of its territories, together with the peculiar ſtate of its political conſtitution at that juncture, muſt have rendered its enterpriſes ſtill more alarming and more deciſive. The king poſſeſſed ſuch a degree of power as gave him the entire command of his ſubjects; the people were ſtrangers to thoſe occupations and habits of life which render men averſe to war, or unfit for it; and the nobles though reduced to the ſubordination neceſſary in a regular government, ſtill retained the high undaunted ſpirit which was the effect of their ancient independence. The vigour of the feudal times remained, their anarchy was at an end; and the kings of France could avail themſelves of the martial ardour which that ſingular inſtitution had kindled or kept alive, without being expoſed to any of the dangers or inconveniencies which are inſeparable from it when in entire force.

A kingdom in ſuch a ſtate is, perhaps, capable of greater military efforts than at any other period in its progreſs. But how formidable or how fatal ſoever to the other nations of Europe the power of ſuch a monarchy might have been, the civil wars which broke out in France ſaved them at that juncture from feeling its effects. Theſe wars, of which religion was the pretext and ambition the cauſe, wherein great abilities were diſplayed by the leaders of the different factions, and little conduct or firmneſs were manifeſted by the crown under a ſucceſſion of weak princes, kept France occupied and embroiled for half a century. During theſe com-

motions the internal ſtrength of the kingdom was much waſt-ed, and ſuch a ſpirit of anarchy was ſpread among the nobles, to whom rebellion was familiar, and the reſtraint of laws unknown, that a conſiderable interval became requiſite not only for recruiting the internal vigour of the nation, but for re-eſtabliſhing the authority of the prince; ſo that it was long before France could turn her whole attention towards foreign tranſactions, or act with her proper force in foreign wars. It was long before ſhe roſe to that aſcendant in Europe which ſhe has maintained ſince the adminiſtration of cardinal Richlieu, and which the ſituation as well as extent of the kingdom, the nature of her government, together with the character of her people, entitle her to maintain.

While the kingdoms on the continent grew into power and conſequence, England likewiſe made conſiderable progreſs towards regular government and interior ſtrength. Henry VIII. probably without intention, and certainly without any conſiſtent plan, of which his nature was incapable, purſued the ſcheme of depreſſing the nobility, which the policy of his father Henry VII. had begun. The pride and caprice of his temper led him to employ chiefly new men in the adminiſtration of affairs, becauſe he found them moſt obſequious, or leaſt ſcrupulous; and he not only conferred on them ſuch plenitude of power, but exalted them to ſuch pre-eminence in dignity, as mortified and degraded the ancient nobility. By the alienation or ſale of the church lands, which were diſſipated with a profuſion not inferior to the rapacioufneſs with which they had been ſeized, as well as by the privilege granted to the ancient landholders of ſelling their eſtates, or diſpoſing of them by will, an immenſe property, formerly locked up, was brought into circulation. This put the ſpirit of induſtry and commerce in motion, and gave it ſome conſiderable degree of vigour. The road to power and to opulence became open to perſons of every condition. A ſudden and exceſſive flow of wealth from the Weſt Indies proved fatal to induſtry in Spain; a moderate

accession in England to the sum in circulation gave life to commerce, awakened the ingenuity of the nation, and excited it to useful enterprise. In France, what the nobles lost the crown gained. In England, the commons were gainers as well as the king. Power and influence accompanied of course the property which they acquired. They rose to consideration among their fellow-subjects; they began to feel their own importance; and extending their influence in the legislative body gradually, and often when neither they themselves nor others foresaw all the effects of their claims and pretensions, they at last attained that high authority to which the British constitution is indebted for the existence, and must owe the preservation, of its liberty. At the same time that the English constitution advanced towards perfection, several circumstances brought on a change in the ancient system with respect to foreign powers, and introduced another more beneficial to the nation. As soon as Henry disclaimed the supremacy of the papal see, and broke off all connexion with the papal court, considerable sums were saved to the nation, of which it had been annually drained by remittances to Rome for dispensations and indulgences, by the expence of pilgrimages into foreign countries†, or by payment of annates, first fruits, and a thousand other taxes which that artful and rapacious court levied on the credulity of mankind. The exercise of a jurisdiction different from that of the civil power, and claiming not only to be independent of it, but superior to it, a wild solecism in government, apt not only to perplex and disquiet weak minds, but tending directly to disturb society, was finally abolished. Government became more simple as well as more

† The loss which the nation sustained by most of these articles is obvious, and must have been great. Even that by pilgrimages was not inconsiderable. In the year 1428, licence was obtained by no fewer than 916 persons to visit the shrine of St. James of Compostella in Spain. Rymer, vol. x. p. . In 1434, the number of pilgrims to the same place was 2460. Ibid. p. . In 1445, they were 2100; vol. xi. p. .

respectable, when no rank or character exempted any person from being amenable to the same courts as other subjects, from being tried by the same judges, and from being acquitted or condemned by the same laws.

By the loss of Calais the English were excluded from the continent. All schemes for invading France became of course as chimerical as they had formerly been pernicious. The views of the English were confined, first by necessity, and afterwards from choice, within their own island. That rage for conquest which had possessed the nation during many centuries, and wasted its strength in perpetual and fruitless wars, ceased at length. Those active spirits which had known and followed no profession but war, sought for occupation in the arts of peace, and their country was benefited as much by the one as it had suffered by the other. The nation, which had been exhausted by frequent expeditions to the continent, recruited its numbers, and acquired new strength; and when roused by any extraordinary exigency to take part in foreign operations, the vigour of its efforts was proportionally great, because they were only occasional and of a short continuance.

The same principle which had led England to adopt this new system with regard to the powers on the continent, occasioned a change in its plan of conduct with respect to Scotland, the only foreign state with which, on account of its situation in the same island, the English had such a close connexion as demanded their perpetual attention. Instead of prosecuting the ancient scheme of conquering that kingdom, which the nature of the country, defended by a brave and hardy people, rendered dangerous if not impracticable; it appeared more eligible to endeavour at obtaining such influence in Scotland as might exempt England from any danger or disquiet from that quarter. The national poverty of the Scots, together with the violence and animosity of their factions, rendered the execution of this plan easy to a people far superior to them in wealth. The leading men of great-

eſt power and popularity were gained; the miniſters and favourites of the crown were corrupted; and ſuch abſolute direction of the Scottiſh councils was acquired, as rendered the operations of the one kingdom dependent, in a great meaſure, on the ſovereign of the other. Such perfect external ſecurity, added to the interior advantages which England now poſſeſſed, muſt ſoon have raiſed it to new conſideration and importance; the long reign of Elizabeth, equally conſpicuous for wiſdom, for ſteadineſs, and for vigour, accelerated its progreſs, and carried it with greater rapidity towards that elevated ſtation which it hath ſince held among the powers of Europe.

During the period in which the political ſtate of the great kingdoms underwent ſuch changes, revolutions of conſiderable importance happened in that of the ſecondary or inferior powers. Thoſe in the papal court are moſt obvious, and of moſt extenſive conſequence.

In the Preliminary Book, I have mentioned the riſe of that ſpiritual juriſdiction which the popes claim as vicars of Jeſus Chriſt, and have traced the progreſs of that authority which they poſſeſs as temporal princes†. Previous to the reign of Charles V. there was nothing that tended to circumſcribe or to moderate their authority, but ſcience and philoſophy, which began to revive and be cultivated. The progreſs of theſe, however, was ſtill inconſiderable; they always operate ſlowly; and it is long before their influence reaches the people, or can produce any ſenſible effect upon them. They may perhaps gradually, and in a long courſe of years, undermine and ſhake an eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of falſe religion, but there is no inſtance of their having overturned one. The battery is too feeble to demoliſh thoſe fabrics which ſuperſtition raiſes on deep foundations, and can ſtrengthen with the moſt conſummate art.

Luther had attacked the papal ſupremacy with other weapons, and with an impetuoſity more formidable. The time

† Vol. I. p. 114, &c.

and manner of his attack concurred with a multitude of circumſtances, which have been explained, in giving him immediate ſucceſs. The charm which had bound mankind for ſo many ages was broken at once. The human mind, which had continued long as tame and paſſive as if it had been formed to believe whatever was taught, and to bear whatever was impoſed, rouſed of a ſudden and became inquiſitive, mutinous, and diſdainful of the yoke to which it had hitherto ſubmitted. That wonderful ferment and agitation of mind, which, at this diſtance of time, appears unaccountable, or is condemned as extravagant, was ſo general, that it muſt have been excited by cauſes which were natural and of powerful efficacy. The kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, England, and Scotland, and almoſt one-half of Germany, threw off their allegiance to the pope, aboliſhed his juriſdiction within their territories, and gave the ſanction of law to modes of diſcipline and ſyſtems of doctrine which were not only independent of his power, but hoſtile to it. Nor was this ſpirit of innovation confined to thoſe countries which openly revolted from the pope; it ſpread through all Europe, and broke out in every part of it with various degrees of violence. It penetrated early into France, and made a quick progreſs there. In that kingdom, the number of converts to the opinions of the reformers was ſo great, their zeal ſo enterpriſing, and the abilities of their leaders ſo diſtinguiſhed, that they ſoon ventured to contend for ſuperiority with the eſtabliſhed church, and were ſometimes on the point of obtaining it. In all the provinces of Germany which continued to acknowledge the papal ſupremacy, as well as in the Low-Countries, the proteſtant doctrines were ſecretly taught, and had gained ſo many proſelytes, that they were ripe for revolt, and were reſtrained merely by the dread of their rulers from imitating the example of their neighbours, and aſſerting their independence. Even in Spain and Italy, ſymptoms to ſhake off the yoke appeared. The pretenſions of the pope to infallible knowledge and ſupreme power were

treated by many perfons of eminent learning and abilities with fuch fcorn, or attacked with fuch vehemence, that the moft vigilant attention of the civil magiftrate, the higheft ftrains of pontifical authority, and all the rigour of inquifitorial jurifdiction were requifite to check and extinguifh it.

The defection of fo many opulent and powerful kingdoms from the papal fee, was a fatal blow to its grandeur and power. It abridged the dominions of the popes in extent, it diminifhed their revenues, and left them fewer rewards to beftow on the ecclefiaftics of various denominations, attached to them by vows of obedience as well as by ties of intereft, and whom they employed as inftruments to eftablifh or fupport their ufurpations in every part of Europe. The countries too which now difclaimed their authority, were thofe which formerly had been moft devoted to it. The empire of fuperftition differs from every other fpecies of dominion; its power is often greateft and moft implicitly obeyed in the provinces moft remote from the feat of government; while fuch as are fituated nearer to that are more apt to difcern the artifices by which it is upheld, or the impoftures on which it is founded. The perfonal frailties or vices of the popes, the errors as well as corruption of their adminiftration, the ambition, venality, and deceit which reigned in their courts, fell immediately under the obfervation of the Italians, and could not fail of diminifhing that refpect which begets fubmiffion. But in Germany, England, and the more remote parts of Europe, thefe were either altogether unknown, or being only known by report, made a flighter impreffion. Veneration for the papal dignity increafed accordingly in thefe countries in proportion to their diftance from Rome; and that veneration, added to their grofs ignorance, rendered them equally credulous and paffive. In tracing the progrefs of the papal domination, the boldeft and moft fuccefsful inftances of encroachment are to be found in Germany and other countries diftant from Italy. In thefe its impofitions were heavieft and

its exactions the most rapacious; so that in estimating the diminution of power which the court of Rome suffered in consequence of the reformation, not only the number but the character of the people who revolted, not only the great extent of territory, but the extraordinary obsequiousness of the subjects which it lost, must be taken into the account.

Nor was it only by this defection of so many kingdoms and states which the reformation occasioned, that it contributed to diminish the power of the Roman pontiffs. It obliged them to adopt a different system of conduct towards the nations which still continued to recognise their jurisdiction, and to govern them by new maxims and with a milder spirit. The reformation taught them, by a fatal example, what they seem not before to have apprehended, that the credulity and patience of mankind might be overburdened and exhausted. They became afraid of venturing upon any such exertion of their authority as might alarm or exasperate their subjects, and excite them to a new revolt. They saw a rival church established in many countries of Europe, the members of which were on the watch to observe any errors in their administration, and eager to expose them. They were sensible that the opinions, adverse to their power and usurpations, were not adopted by their enemies alone, but had spread even among the people who still adhered to them. Upon all these accounts, it was no longer possible to lead or to govern their flock in the same manner as in those dark and quiet ages when faith was implicit, when submission was unreserved, and all tamely followed and obeyed the voice of their pastor. From the æra of the reformation, the popes have ruled rather by address and management than by authority. Though the style of their decrees be still the same, the effect of them is very different. Those bulls and interdicts which, before the reformation, made the greatest princes tremble, have since that period been disregarded or despised by the most inconsiderable. Those bold decisions

and acts of jurisdiction which, during many ages, not only passed uncensured, but were revered as the awards of a sacred tribunal, would, since Luther's appearance, be treated by one part of Europe as the effect of folly or arrogance, and be detested by the other as impious and unjust. The popes, in their administration, have been obliged not only to accommodate themselves to the notions of their adherents, but to pay some regard to the prejudices of their enemies. They seldom venture to claim new powers, or even to insist obstinately on their ancient prerogatives, lest they should irritate the former; they carefully avoid every measure that may either excite the indignation or draw on them the derision of the latter. The policy of the court of Rome has become as cautious, circumspect, and timid, as it was once adventurous and violent; and though their pretensions to infallibility, on which all their authority is founded, does not allow them to renounce any jurisdiction, which they have at any time claimed or exercised, they find it expedient to suffer many of their prerogatives to lie dormant, and not to expose themselves to the risk of losing that remainder of power which they still enjoy, by ill-timed attempts towards reviving obsolete pretensions. Before the sixteenth century, the popes were the movers and directors in every considerable enterprise; they were at the head of every great alliance; and being considered as arbiters in the affairs of Christendom, the court of Rome was the centre of political negotiation and intrigue. Since that time, the greatest operations in Europe have been carried on independent of them; they have sunk almost to a level with the other petty princes of Italy; they continue to claim, though they dare not exercise, the same spiritual jurisdiction, but hardly retain any shadow of the temporal power which they anciently possessed.

But how fatal soever the reformation may have been to the power of the popes, it has contributed to improve the church of Rome both in science and in morals. The desire

of equalling the reformers in thoſe talents which had procured them reſpect; the neceſſity of acquiring the knowledge requiſite for defending their own tenets; or refuting the arguments of their opponents, together with the emulation natural between two rival churches, engaged the Roman catholic clergy to apply themſelves to the ſtudy of uſeful ſcience, which they cultivated with ſuch aſſiduity and ſucceſs, that they have gradually become as eminent in literature, as they were in ſome periods infamous for ignorance. The ſame principle occaſioned a change no leſs conſiderable in the morals of the Romiſh clergy. Various cauſes which have formerly been enumerated, had concurred in introducing great irregularity, and even diſſolution of manners, among the popiſh clergy. Luther and his adherents began their attack on the church with ſuch vehement invectives againſt theſe, that, in order to remove the ſcandal, and ſilence their declamations, greater decency of conduct became neceſſary. The reformers themſelves were ſo eminent not only for the purity but even auſterity of their manners, and had acquired ſuch reputation among the people on that account, that the Roman catholic clergy muſt have ſoon loſt all credit, if they had not endeavoured to conform in ſome meaſure to their ſtandard. They knew that all their actions fell under the ſevere inſpection of the proteſtants, whom enmity and emulation prompted to obſerve every vice, or even impropriety in their conduct; to cenſure them without indulgence, and expoſe them without mercy. This rendered them, of courſe, not only cautious to avoid ſuch enormities as might give offence, but ſtudious to acquire the virtues which might merit praiſe. In Spain and Portugal, where the tyrannical juriſdiction of the inquiſition cruſhed the proteſtant faith as ſoon as it appeared, the ſpirit of popery continues invariable; ſcience has made ſmall progreſs, and the character of eccleſiaſtics has undergone little change. But in thoſe countries where the members of the two churches have mingled freely with each other, or have

carried on any confiderable intercourfe, either commercial or literary, an extraordinary alteration in the ideas, as well as in the morals of the popifh ecclefiaftics, is manifeft. In France, the manners of the dignitaries and fecular clergy have become decent and exemplary in an high degree. Many of them have been diftinguifhed for all the accomplifhments and virtues which can adorn their profeffion; and differ greatly from their predeceffors before the reformation, both in their maxims and in their conduct.

Nor has the influence of the reformation been felt only by the inferior members of the Roman catholic church; it has extended to the fee of Rome, to the fovereign pontiffs themfelves. Violations of decorum, and even trefpaffes againft morality, which paffed without cenfure in thofe ages, when neither the power of popes, nor the veneration of the people for their character, had any bounds; when there was no hoftile eye to obferve the errors in their conduct, and no adverfaries zealous to inveigh againft them; would be liable now to the fevereft animadverfion, and excite general indignation or horror. Inftead of rivalling the courts of temporal princes in gaiety, and furpaffing them in licentioufnefs, the popes have ftudied to affume manners more fevere and more fuitable to their ecclefiaftical character. The chair of St. Peter hath not been polluted during two centuries, by any pontiff that refembled Alexander VI. or feveral of his predeceffors, who were a difgrace to religion and to human nature. Throughout this long fucceffion of popes, a wonderful decorum of conduct, compared with that of preceding ages, is obfervable. Many of them, efpecially among the pontiffs of the prefent century, have been confpicuous for all the virtues becoming their high ftation; and by their humanity, their love of literature, and their moderation, have made fome atonement to mankind for the crimes of their predeceffors. Thus the beneficial influences of the reformation have been more extenfive than they appear on a fuperficial view; and this great divifion in the Chriftian

church hath contributed, in some measure, to increase purity of manners, to diffuse science, and to inspire humanity. History recites such a number of shocking events occasioned by religious dissensions, that it must afford peculiar satisfaction to trace any one salutary or beneficial effect to that source from which so many fatal calamities have flowed.

The republic of Venice, which, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, had appeared so formidable, that almost all the potentates of Europe united in a confederacy for its destruction, declined gradually from its ancient power and splendor. The Venetians not only lost a great part of their territory in the war excited by the league of Cambray, but the revenues as well as vigour of the state were exhausted by their extraordinary and long-continued efforts in their own defence; and that commerce by which they had acquired their wealth and power began to decay, without any hopes of its reviving. All the fatal consequences to their republic which the sagacity of the Venetian senate foresaw on the first discovery of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, actually took place. Their endeavours to prevent the Portuguese, from establishing themselves in the East Indies, not only by exciting the Soldans of Egypt, and the Ottoman monarchs, to turn their arms against such dangerous intruders, but by affording secret aid to the infidels in order to insure their success †, proved ineffectual. The activity and valour of the Portuguese surmounted every obstacle, and obtained such a firm footing in that fertile country, as secured to them large possessions, together with an influence still more extensive. Lisbon, instead of Venice, became the staple for the precious commodities of the East. The Venetians, after having possessed for many years, the monopoly of that beneficial commerce, had the mortification to be excluded from almost any share in it. The discoveries of the Spaniards in the Western world proved no less fatal to inferior branches of their commerce. The original defects which were for-

† Freher. Script. Rer. German. vol. iii. 529.

merly pointed out in the conſtitution of the Venetian republic ſtill continued, and the diſadvantages with which it undertook any great enterpriſe increaſed, rather than diminiſhed. The ſources from which it derived its extraordinary riches and power being dried up, the interior vigour of the ſtate declined, and, of courſe, its external operations became leſs formidable. Long before the middle of the ſixteenth century, Venice ceaſed to be one of the principal powers in Europe, and dwindled into a ſecondary and ſubaltern ſtate. But as the ſenate had the addreſs to conceal the diminution of its power, under the veil of moderation and caution; as it made no raſh effort that could diſcover its weakneſs; as the ſymptoms of political decay in ſtates are not ſoon obſerved, and are ſeldom ſo apparent to their neighbours as to occaſion any ſudden alteration in their conduct towards them, Venice continued long to be conſidered and reſpected. She was treated not according to her preſent condition, but according to the rank which ſhe had formerly held. Charles V. as well as the kings of France his rivals, courted her aſſiſtance with emulation and ſolicitude in all their enterpriſes. Even down to the cloſe of the century, Venice remained not only an object of attention, but a conſiderable ſeat of political negotiation and intrigue.

That authority which the firſt Coſmo di Medici, and Lawrence, his grandſon, had acquired in the republic of Florence, by their beneficence and abilities, inſpired their deſcendants with the ambition of uſurping the ſovereignty in their country, and paved their way towards it. Charles V. placed Alexander di Medici at the head of the republic [A. D. 1530,] and to the natural intereſt and power of the family added the weight as well as credit of the Imperial protection. Of theſe, his ſucceſſor Coſmo, ſurnamed the Great, availed himſelf; and eſtabliſhing his ſupreme authority on the ruins of the ancient republican conſtitution, he tranſmitted that, together with the title of grand duke of Tuſcany, to his deſcendants. Their dominions were com-

posed of the territories which had belonged to the three commonwealths of Florence, Pisa, and Sienna, and formed one of the most respectable of the Italian states.

The dukes of Savoy, during the former part of the sixteenth century, possessed territories which were not considerable either for extent or value; and the French, having seized the greater part of them, obliged the reigning duke to retire for safety to the strong fortress of Nice, where he shut himself up for several years, while his son, the prince of Piedmont, endeavoured to better his fortune, by serving as an adventurer in the armies of Spain. The peace of Cateau-Cambresis restored to him his paternal dominions. As these are environed on every hand by powerful neighbours, all whose motions the dukes of Savoy must observe with the greatest attention, in order not only to guard against the danger of being surprised and overpowered, but that they may chuse their side with discernment in those quarrels wherein it is impossible for them to avoid taking part, this peculiarity in their situation seems to have had no inconsiderable influence on their character. By rousing them to perpetual attention, by keeping their ingenuity always on the stretch, and engaging them in almost continual action, it hath formed a race of princes more sagacious in discovering their true interest, more decisive in their resolutions, and more dexterous in availing themselves of every occurrence which presented itself, than any perhaps that can be singled out in the history of Europe. By gradual acquisitions the dukes of Savoy have added to their territories, as well as to their own importance; and aspiring at length to regal dignity, which they obtained about half a century ago, by the title of kings of Sardinia, they hold now no inconsiderable rank among the monarchs of Europe.

The territories which form the republic of the United Netherlands were lost during the first part of the sixteenth century, among the numerous provinces subject to the house of Austria; and were then so inconsiderable, that hardly one

opportunity of mentioning them hath occurred in all the busy period of this history. But soon after the peace of Cateau-Cambresis, the violent and bigoted maxims of Philip's government, being carried into execution with unrelenting rigour by the duke of Alva, exasperated the free people of the Low Countries to such a degree, that they threw off the Spanish yoke, and asserted their ancient liberties and laws. These they defended with a persevering valour, which gave employment to the arms of Spain during half a century, exhausted the vigour, ruined the reputation of that monarchy, and at last constrained their ancient masters to recognise and to treat with them as a free independent state. This state, founded on liberty, and reared by industry and economy, grew into great reputation, even while struggling for its existence. But when peace and security allowed it to enlarge its views, and to extend its commerce, it rose to be one of the most respectable as well as enterprising powers in Europe.

The transactions of the kingdoms in the North of Europe have been seldom attended to in the course of this history.

Russia remained buried in that barbarism and obscurity, from which it was called about the beginning of the present century, by the creative genius of Peter the Great, who made his country known and formidable to the rest of Europe.

In Denmark and Sweden, during the reign of Charles V. great revolutions happened in their constitutions, civil as well as ecclesiastical. In the former kingdom, a tyrant being degraded from the throne, and expelled the country, a new prince was called by the voice of the people to assume the reins of government. In the latter, a fierce people roused to arms by injuries and oppression, shook off the Danish yoke, and conferred the regal dignity on its deliverer Gustavus Ericson, who had all the virtues of a hero and of a patriot. Denmark, exhausted by foreign wars, or weakened by the dissensions between the

king and the nobles, became incapable of ſuch efforts as were requiſite in order to recover the aſcendant which it had long poſſeſſed in the North of Europe. Sweden, as ſoon as it was freed from the dominion of ſtrangers, began to recruit its ſtrength, and acquired in a ſhort time ſuch internal vigour, that it became the firſt kingdom in the North. Early in the ſubſequent century, it roſe to ſuch a high rank among the powers of Europe, that it had the chief merit in forming, as well as conducting, that powerful league, which protected not only the proteſtant religion, but the liberties of Germany, againſt the bigotry and ambition of the houſe of Auſtria.

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